CHRONICLE

December 1995, Volume XXXII, Number 4

The largest gathering of world leaders in history

Department of Public Information
United Nations

OUR COVER

Long live the United Nations!

In mid-October, the United Nations witnessed the largest gathering of world leaders in history, celebrating 50 years since the UN Charter entered into force on 24 October 1945. "Today we celebrate this great achievement, this birth of a world Organization based upon a democratic foundation", said UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 24 October 1995, as he toasted world dignitaries at a special anniversary luncheon. The family of nations had gathered at UN Headquarters in New York City from 22 to 24 October, and spoke with eloquence of their confidence in the future of the UN. At the close of the three-day celebration, the participants in the golden jubilee unanimously adopted an anniversary Declaration, expressing their determination that the UN of the future will work with renewed vigour.

"It is not always possible for the world's leaders to meet and address the future", Mr. Boutros-Ghali remarked on the last day of the special commemorative session. "But for three days we have been a community of one. We have understood the changes. We have recognized the complexity. We have looked to the future and seen the way forward." During the celebration, the colourful and dignified assortment of world leaders, depicted in a historic photograph* on our cover—men and women representing countries large and small, rich and poor—joined him in a pledge to move forward together, through the United Nations, united for a better world. At the end of the debate, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali summed up the birthday wish:

"Long live the United Nations!"

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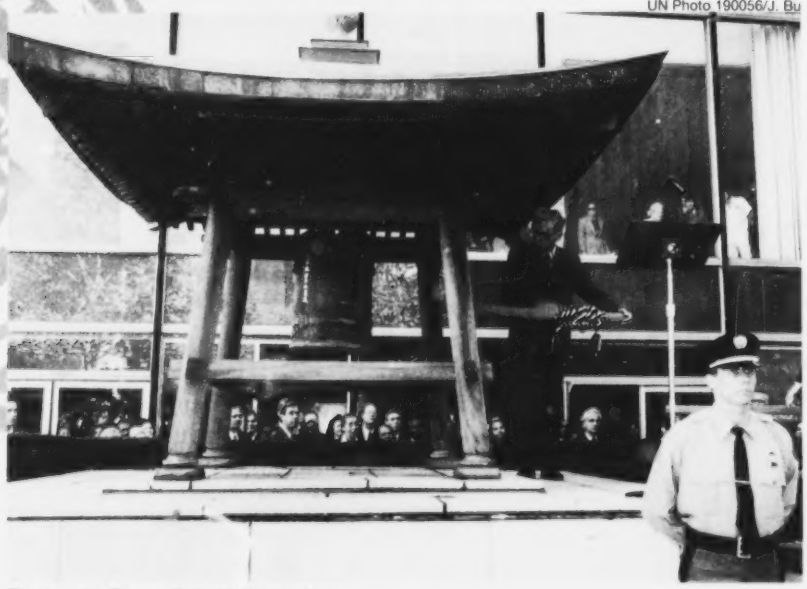
'A welcome realism ...'

From the Secretary-General's report to the 50th General Assembly

(A/50/1)

UN Photo 190056/J. Bu



Ringing the Peace Bell, 19 September.

From the deep-rooted and far-reaching United Nations work for economic, social and humanitarian progress to the immediate and often urgent efforts to prevent, contain and resolve conflicts, what emerges from the pages of this report is an image of a multifaceted and ever-evolving organization—an organization responding flexibly to global change and to the changing needs of the international community.

There are signs that the massive educational effort under way at all levels of national and international society in this fiftieth anniversary year is helping to create a welcome realism about the role of the United Nations in world affairs today, as well as a renewed sense of commitment to fulfil the original promise set down in the Charter 50 years ago.

Major aspects of this landmark year are still to come, including the Special Commemorative Meeting of the General Assembly, to be held at Headquarters from 22 to 24 October 1995, and the commemoration in London in January 1996 of the first session of the General Assembly. Nonetheless, it is already evident that this anniversary has created a spirit and a momentum that go well beyond the commemoration and celebration expected at such a point in time. Virtually every dimension of the United Nations has been energized. New realities are being used as the basis for reassessment and redesign. Successes are being built upon. A new spirit of cooperation at every level and on virtually every issue is within the grasp of a wider contingent of committed people than ever before.

Carrying the spirit forward

It is vital, therefore, that the spirit of the fiftieth anniversary be carried forward in all these respects. Most fundamentally it will be important to continue the major efforts launched this year with the objective of enabling the United Nations as an institution to become more intellectually creative, more financially stable, more managerially effective and more responsive to all sectors of society.

The fiftieth year has also generated criticism of the Organization, and this is serving to make the United Nations healthier and stronger. Shortcomings of the Organization itself, inadequate mandates, insufficient financial and material resources, the failure of Member States to fulfil their obligations or take on new responsibilities—all have on occasion been catalysts for criticism. However, the ultimate source of today's criticism can be found in the impact of globalization on the Organization and its Member States: as the United Nations is being asked to take on more duties and expand its activities, it is expected that the level of criticism should intensify. At the same time, globalization can work against the will to increase involvement, feeding fear and isolationism; criticisms born of these sentiments can create dangerous misperceptions.

Healthy criticism: indispensable

Healthy criticism is an indispensable form of participation in and support for the United Nations in its effort to revitalize the international system. This report is itself an effort at transparency, revealing both the strengths and weaknesses of the Organization to the widest possible audience. The continuing calls for reform, and the reforms already enacted and under way, testify to the recognition by far more people than ever before that the United Nations is a truly indispensable element in world affairs and that if it did not now exist, it would be impossible to create it under present conditions. Thus the legacy of 1945 must be cherished and carried forward. In

parallel, techniques that have succeeded must be transformed to meet the challenges of a new era.

Reflection and reform are not new to this Organization. As envisioned by the founders, the United Nations has evolved over time, and adapted to new conditions, all the while in pursuit of a better life for all individuals and a better world for humanity as a whole. The fiftieth anniversary year, however, by arriving at such a critical juncture in the history of international relations, offers an unprecedented opportunity for change. As Secretary-General, I have from the outset been deeply committed to and concerned with reform. Looking back over the past three and a half years of effort for change and the substantial managerial steps taken during the period covered by this report, I believe that a continuing need exists for further, substantial reforms in the period ahead.

The communiqué issued by the Heads of State and Government of seven major industrialized nations and the President of the European Commission, following their twenty-first annual economic summit meeting at Halifax, provided suggestions for enhancing the effectiveness and coherence of the United Nations system in the economic, social and environmental fields and in the humanitarian area.

Future role considered

Throughout this fiftieth anniversary year, serious consideration has been given to the future role and responsibilities of the United Nations by conferences, workshops and study programmes held at every level and in every part of the world. Two independent Commissions have issued reports: *"The United Nations in its Second Half-Century"*, produced by an independent working group under the co-chairmanship of Mr. Richard von Weizsäcker and Mr. Moeen Qureshi, sponsored at my request by the Ford Foundation and facilitated by Yale University; and *"Our Global Neighbourhood"*, produced by the Commission on Global Governance, under the co-chairmanship of Mr. Ingvar Carlsson and Mr. Shridath Ramphal. The South Center also has been active in reviewing various aspects of reform.

The days, weeks and months covered in this report have been filled with discouraging developments. But from a larger, longer-term point of view, there are many signs that progress is being made, giving cause for confidence that, over time, success is entirely possible. Never before have so many courageous and committed people been involved in world betterment. Never before have nations recognized so clearly that their fate is bound with each other. And never before has it been so undeniable that mutually beneficial international institutions of cooperation—with the United Nations foremost among them—are a vital global necessity.

It is therefore imperative to remain focused on the reality of movement towards long-term achievement and not to permit dismay over immediate difficulties to weaken the positive momentum that has been achieved.

There are three immediate problems, however, that must concern us deeply, for if they are not effectively addressed they can irreparably damage the United Nations as a mechanism for progress.

First, the safety and integrity of United Nations personnel in the field must be respected. When lightly armed peacekeepers or unarmed aid workers on a humanitarian mission are threatened, taken hostage, harmed or even killed, the world must act to prevent such intolerable behaviour. The credibility of all United Nations peace operations is at stake; to preserve it, personnel must be protected as they carry out the duties the international community has sent them to accomplish.

Secondly, the financial situation of the Organization must be placed on an adequate and sustainable footing. Calls for ever-greater United Nations effectiveness under conditions of financial penury make no sense. It is as though the town fire department were being dispatched to put out fires raging in several places at once, while a collection was being taken to raise money for the fire-fighting equipment. The deterioration of the Organization's financial position must be reversed.

And, lastly, funds for development are drying up. This is a consequence of the end of the cold-war contest, of the competing demands of peace-keeping and development for scarce resources, and of donor fatigue over the time and difficulty of creating progress on the ground. The willingness to spend money to try to contain conflicts around the world, while necessary and admirable, is not enough. Unless development is funded as well, the world can expect only the continuation of cycles marked by the alternation of terrible strife, uneasy stand-off and strife once again. To break this downward spiral, sustainable human development must be instituted everywhere. A new vision of development, and a universal commitment to it, is indispensable for the world progress all peoples seek.

Too many innocent victims

During the past year we have seen far too many innocent civilians, especially women and children, losing their lives or being condemned to carry on under appalling conditions. We continue to witness scenes of refugees deprived of their most basic rights and struggling desperately to survive. And hundreds of millions of people live in poverty so dire as to render them incapable of taking effective action to improve their own condition. Thus the existence of a true international community has yet to be demonstrated. Nothing could do more to bring such an instrument of human solidarity into being than a commitment undertaken now to ensure that all the poor countries of the world are set firmly on the path of development as we enter the next century. Such an achievement would bring an end to degradation and despair for a huge proportion of our fellow human beings and would represent one of history's most dramatic chapters of progress.

We have before us an opportunity to combine the ongoing, incremental process of reform with a comprehensive vision of the future. The legacy of the founders at this half-century mark should be our inspiration as we step forward with pride to meet this challenge. Together we can bring the world of the Charter to the world of today. ■

Agreements on Bosnia signed

Croatia restores control over its territories

Peace remains highest priority Situation still volatile

United Nations efforts in the former Yugoslavia continued in an environment characterized by "vicious cycles of cease-fire violations, human rights infringements, physical destruction and death", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali declared on 22 August.

The Organization was carrying out a "multiplicity of mandated responsibilities" that spanned humanitarian, military and political tasks, he stated in his annual report *(A/50/1)* to the General Assembly .

The hallmarks of the crisis—unceasing conflicts, entrenched hostilities, violation of agreements and a "genuine lack of commitment and good faith"—gave the impression "either that not enough is being done to find a peaceful resolution or that fundamental questions and issues that divide the parties are insurmountable", Mr. Boutros-Ghali said.

For too long, he lamented, from the start of the Yugoslav military confrontation in 1991, "all efforts aimed at reaching a negotiated and peaceful solution to the conflicts and outstanding issues have been in vain". Nevertheless, the UN and its agencies were devoting the "highest priority to bringing peace to the region and alleviating the suffering brought about by the conflict", he stated.

Setbacks and disappointments

Mr. Boutros-Ghali's assessment reflected setbacks and disappointments that the UN and the international community had experienced in attempts to end the four-year-old Yugoslav crisis—the largest and most violent armed confrontation in Europe since the Second World War. His comments also underscored the volatility of the situation on the ground, especially in view of the dramatic events of July, August and September 1995.

AFP Photo/Pascal Geo

Described in their Joint Statement as an "important milestone in the search for peace" in the four-year-old Yugoslav crisis, an agreement on principles to end the Bosnian war was signed on 8 September in Geneva by *(left to right)* Foreign Ministers Milan Milutinovic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), Mate Granic of Croatia and Muhamed Sacirbey of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Most notable among them: the Bosnian Serbs' forced takeover of the Srebrenica and Zepa "safe areas" in July; a major offensive by Croatia against its predominantly Serb-populated areas (the so-called Krajina region) in the beginning of August, forcing some 200,000 Croatian Serbs to flee the country; shelling by the Bosnian Serbs of the Sarajevo market on 28 August; massive retaliatory air strikes by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) against the Bosnian Serbs' military targets; and the 8 September Geneva statement and agreements on principles to negotiate an end to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Geneva accords, particularly, were an "important milestone in the search for peace", the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)—FRY—declared in a joint statement *(A/50/419-S/1995/780)*. While n constituting an end to the tragedy the Balkans, the principles contain many significant points that wou "govern the difficult negotiations come", the Foreign Ministers state

The Joint Statement and Agre Basic Principles were negotiated und the auspices of the Contact Grou France, Germany, the Russian Fede tion, the United Kingdom and t United States.

On 14 September, the Bosnian Se party signed the Framework for a C sation of Hostilities within the Saraje Temporary Exclusion Zone.

In a follow-up to those accords, agreement providing for free, fair a direct elections in Bosnia was reach by Bosnia, Croatia and the FRY on September in New York.

Replace UNPROFOR?

"There may be credible prospe for a viable and lasting peace in Bosn and Herzegovina if all parties are at l

ready to forgo the military option", the Secretary-General stated *(S/1995/804)* on 18 September. However, if the current peace initiative did not succeed and more enforcement action was needed, the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) should be "replaced with a multinational force", he suggested.

As of 29 September, a UN spokesman announced, UN peace-keepers continued their work "to the extent they can", although operating only in parts of Bosnia which were controlled by the Bosnian-Croat Federation.

The peace initiative, led by the United States since the beginning of August, was currently aimed at securing a Bosnia-wide cease-fire, he stated.

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali on 22 September, in meeting with United States Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, expressed strong support for Mr. Holbrooke's efforts in the former Yugoslavia, taken on behalf of President William Clinton.

With regard to Croatia, its forced reintegration of the former Sectors West, North and South had "eliminated the need for a substantial UN military presence", the Secretary-General said. However, two infantry battalions of the UN Confidence Restoration Operation (UNCRO) were to stay in Sector East to help re-establish the regime of the 29 March 1994 cease-fire.

Greece and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) also made a step towards resolving their differences. In a 13 September Interim Accord, they agreed that FYROM would cease to use the symbols displayed on its national flag, and Greece would terminate the trade embargo imposed in 1994.

Throughout July, August and September, the Security Council met formally on 17 occasions to consider the situation in the former Yugoslavia, adopting 6 resolutions and issuing 10 presidential statements.

Also actively involved in negotiating, peace-keeping, peace enforcement and humanitarian relief efforts in that troubled part of the world were: the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY), NATO, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

From 1 July to 30 September, some 1,259 violations of the ban on military flights, imposed under Council resolution 816 (1993), were reported—178 less than in the previous three months, bringing to 6,970 the total number of apparent violations since monitoring began in November 1992 under resolution 781 (1992).

Events in Bosnia

On 11 July, Bosnian Serb forces had overrun the safe area of Srebrenica and by 14 July evicted thousands of Muslim refugees, "while detaining Muslim men, whose fate is still unknown", as well as UNPROFOR troops from the Netherlands, the Secretary-General reported *(A/50/1)* on 22 August.

> "The UN is devoting the highest priority to bringing peace to the region"

Other violations of international humanitarian law, the Secretary-General said, included: arbitrary mass detention of men and boys; abductions and disappearances; summary executions, as well as cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment.

In a 30 August report *(S/1995/755)*, he said: "While Bosnian Serb authorities continue to deny these violations, their failure to provide adequate access to affected areas ... serves only to reinforce the conclusion that significant abuses occurred."

Further investigation, particularly of the allegations of "mass executions in Karakaj and Kasaba, as well as those missing and detained, is clearly warranted", he stressed.

By 25 July, the Bosnian Serbs had taken control of Zepa—another UN safe area. Local sources reported that some 4,800 of 6,700 inhabitants, mostly women, children and the elderly, had been evacuated. However, about 1,500 men of military age, possibly accompanied by family members, had taken to nearby hills and woods.

Also in the Zepa enclave, both sides had "threatened to kill UNPROFOR troops from Ukraine: the Bosnian Serbs, if NATO air strikes were used against them; and the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, if NATO air assets were not used", Mr. Boutros-Ghali reported.

Resolution 1004: Srebrenica

The Security Council on 12 July asked the Secretary-General to use "all resources available" to him to restore the status of Srebrenica, as defined by the 18 August 1993 Agreement for the demilitarization of that area signed by the Bosnian Government and the Bosnian Serb party.

By unanimously adopting resolution 1004 (1995), the Council also demanded that the Bosnian Serb forces immediately "cease their offensive and withdraw from the safe area" of Srebrenica, and "immediately and unconditionally release unharmed all detained UNPROFOR personnel".

In expressing grave concern at the "deterioration in the situation in and around" Srebrenica, the plight of the civilian population there and a "great number of displaced persons" within the safe area at Potocari, especially the lack of essential food supplies and medical care, the Council condemned the Bosnian Serb offensive against Srebrenica and the detention of UNPROFOR personnel.

It demanded that all parties: respect fully the status of Srebrenica, UNPROFOR safety and "complete freedom of movement, including resupply"; allow unimpeded access to the area for UNHCR and other international humanitarian agencies to "alleviate the plight of the

AP/Wide World Photos

On 21 July, delegates to a 15-nation conference on Bosnia met at Lancaster House in London.

civilian population"; and cooperate on the restoration of utilities.

Forced relocation condemned

On 14 July, the Security Council expressed deep concern about the "ongoing forced relocation of tens of thousands of civilians" from the Srebrenica safe area to the Tuzla region by the Bosnian Serb party, as well as reports of "grave mistreatment and killing". It was equally concerned about reports that "up to 4,000 men and boys have been forcibly removed".

In a statement by Council President Gerardo Martinez Blanco of Honduras, it also demanded that the Bosnian Serb party immediately release them and allow unimpeded access to the civilian population of Srebrenica by international humanitarian organizations.

In addition, the Bosnian Serbs were told to "respect fully the rights of those civilians who wish to remain in the safe area", and cooperate with efforts to ensure that those willing to depart were allowed to do so with their families "in an orderly, safe way in conformity with international law".

The Council also demanded that both sides allow the "unhindered movement of humanitarian relief" and cooperate with efforts to provide food, medicine, facilities and housing to the displaced.

In paying tribute to all UNPROFOR and UNHCR personnel, the Council noted that the "presence and bravery" of the troops had "undoubtedly saved the lives of many civilians" in Srebrenica.

Concern over Zepa

Deep concern over the situation in and around Zepa was expressed by the Security Council on 20 and 25 July. In a presidential statement, the Council on 20 July condemned in the strongest possible terms the offensive by the Bosnian Serb forces against that safe area. It demanded that those forces "refrain from any further action" that would threaten the safety of civilians and other persons protected under international humanitarian law.

In addition, the Bosnian Serb authorities were told to give UNHCR "unhindered freedom of movement and access" to Zepa, and cooperate with all efforts, including evacuation, to "ensure the safety of the civilian population", particularly its most vulnerable members.

On 25 July, in restating its condemnation of the Bosnian Serb offensive against the safe areas, the Council demanded that their forces withdraw from Srebrenica and Zepa.

In a statement by its President, Foreign Minister Delmer Urbizo Panting of Honduras, the Council also demanded that UNPROFOR and international humanitarian agencies be provided with "immediate and unhindered access" to Zepa, and that the ICRC be permitted to "register any persons detained against their will, and visit them immediately".

In welcoming the efforts of UNPROFOR and other humanitarian agencies to achieve a safe evacuation of civilians who wish to leave, the Council asked the Secretary-General to "use all resources available to him to that end" and called on the parties to cooperate.

London conference

Those dramatic developments and "measures, including air power, to deter further attacks on the safe areas" were discussed at a 21 July international conference in London, attended by the Foreign Ministers of the Contact Group and representatives of troop-contributing countries.

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali said the meeting was a "turning point in the international community's efforts to control and resolve the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia".

Although no formal conclusions were reached or decisions taken, participants were unanimous in calling for UNPROFOR to remain in Bosnia. They also shared the view that continuation of the status quo was unacceptable, and conditions had to be created in which the Force could exercise its mandate effectively.

Resolution 1010: Access demanded

Immediate access for international humanitarian agencies to persons displaced from Srebrenica and Zepa, who were within the areas of Bosnia under the Bosnian Serb control was demanded by the Security Council on 10 August.

By unanimously adopting resolution 1010 (1995), the Council also demanded that the Bosnian Serb party permit ICRC representatives to visit and register any persons detained against their will, including any members of the Government forces.

Deep concern was expressed at reports of grave violations of international humanitarian law in and around Srebrenica, since many of its former residents could not be accounted for, as well as the "plight of the civilian population and other persons protected under international humanitarian law, originating in the Zepa area".

In demanding that the Bosnian Serbs fully respect the rights of all such persons and ensure their safety, the Council urged that "any persons detained be released".

On 19 August, the Governments of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia were called upon by the Council "immediately to remove all impediments" and give clear undertakings concerning the freedom of movement and provision of facilities for the Rapid Reaction Force (RRF), established by the Council on 16 June to reinforce the UN peace-keeping effort in Bosnia.

In a statement by its President, Nugroho Wisnumurti of Indonesia, the Council also expressed deep concern regarding the "continued impediments" to RRF functioning and deployment, and called upon the two Governments to resolve forthwith, within the existing Status of Forces Agreements, "any outstanding difficulties" with relevant UN authorities.

On 7 September, the Council once again condemned the Bosnian Serb party's failure to give the international humanitarian agencies immediate access to persons displaced from Srebrenica and Zepa. In a statement by its President, Francesco Paolo Fulci of Italy, the Council also stressed its determination that the fate of those displaced be established.

In taking note of the investigations being conducted by the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia—established under resolution 827 (1993)—the Council reiterated that all those who had committed violations of international humanitarian law would be held "individually responsible".

UNCRO area

Following an attack by the Bosnian Army's Fifth Corps against Krajina Serb-controlled territory in Sector North in Croatia, the Croatian Serbs on 19 July had launched a "major counter-offensive", the Secretary-General reported *(S/1995/650)*. That had caused some 8,000 civilians in and around Bihac to "abandon their homes to escape the fighting", creating "extremely serious humanitarian situation", he said.

Croatia on 20 July warned that displacement of the Bihac population would be considered a "serious threat to its security and stability". On 22 July, the Presidents of Croatia and Bosnia signed the Split Declaration, which committed Croatia to assist Bosnian forces militarily in the Bihac pocket.

The Secretary-General on 1 August, in appealing to the Croatian parties to "stop and reflect about the choice" which faced them, urged the path to negotiations "rather than war".

However, Croatia on 3 August rejected a seven-point paper prepared by ICFY Steering Committee Co-Chairman Thorvald Stoltenberg, despite the Croatian Serbs' inclination to accept it as a "useful basis for progress". Croatia stated that the proposal did not address its "fundamental concern for the Krajina Serbs to be reintegrated under the Croatian Constitution and Laws".

Croatia: Major offensive

In his August reports *(S/1995/666* and *S/1995/730)*, the Secretary-General stated that on 4 August the Croatian Army had launched a major offensive against the Krajina region (Sectors North and South), overrunning a total of 98 UN observation posts and creating a "refugee crisis of major proportions".

The onslaught had forced tens of thousands of Serbs to flee the area. On two occasions, UN troops and Serb prisoners had been used as "human shields" and the UN had suffered 18 casualties, of which 3 were fatal.

In parallel, the Bosnian Army Fifth Corps had started a cross-border attack against the Krajina Serbs, "linking up with the Croatian Army in the area of Rakovica".

Also, a sanctioned convoy of displaced people from Sector North had been attacked by a mob of Croatian civilians in Sisak on 9 August and Croatian police had intervened "only after pressure from United Nations civilian police monitors", he said. "War will not resolve the issues at stake in Croatia", the Secretary-General declared on 4 August. Distressed by the Croatian offensive, in which "more lives will now be needlessly lost", and condemning Croatian Army's "deliberate targeting" of UNCRO positions, he called on the Government and the Krajina Serbs to halt hostilities and return to the negotiating table.

"The deliberate reopening of large-scale conflict flouts the cease-fire that has provided the opportunity to search for a peaceful settlement", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stressed.

By 7 August, Croatia had taken control of Sectors North and South. Some

AP/Wide World Photos

The suffering of this woman and child, victims of the 28 August shelling of the Sarajevo central market-place, symbolizes the ongoing tragedy throughout the former Yugoslavia.

200,000 of the Krajina Serb inhabitants, or 95 per cent of the whole population, had fled to Bosnian Serb-held areas in western Bosnia or the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro). Also, more than 600 UNCRO personnel had been dislodged from their positions by the fighting, a UN spokesman stated on 8 August.

On 11 August, the overall situation in all sectors in Croatia was said to be stable, including Sector East, although a "high level of tension" was reported.

However, a "backlash against the Croatian minority" had developed in the Banja Luka area of Bosnia, in response to the displacement of Krajina Serbs from Croatia, with several thousand Bosnian Croats being pushed across the Sava River into Croatia.

'Unacceptable escalation'

The Security Council on 4 August, "deeply concerned at the resumption of hostilities" in and around Croatia, strongly deplored the Government's decision to launch a "broad military offensive", thereby "unacceptably escalating the conflict", with the risk of further consequent attacks by whatever party".

In a presidential statement, the Council also demanded that all military action cease immediately and condemned any shelling of civilian targets. Full respect for civilians' human rights was urged.

In strongly condemning attacks by Croatian Government forces on UN peace-keeping personnel—which had resulted in casualties—the Council demanded that such attacks "cease immediately" and that all detained personnel be released.

Expressing deep regret at the breakdown of talks, which had begun in Geneva on 3 August, the Council also called upon the Croatian Government to return to negotiations.

A similar presidential statement had been made by the Council on 3 August.

Resolution 1009: Offensive must stop

On 10 August, the Security Council demanded that Croatia "cease immediately all military actions" and fully comply with all its relevant resolutions.

AP/Wide World Photos

The deadly shelling of the Sarajevo market on 28 August *(above)* led to NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serb military targets *(right)*.

In unanimously adopting resolution 1009 (1995), it also demanded that Croatia: respect fully the rights of the local Serb population, including their "rights to remain, leave or return in safety"; allow access to them by international humanitarian organizations; and create conditions conducive to the return of those who had left their homes.

Croatia was also reminded of its responsibility to allow access for ICRC representatives to detained members of the local Serb forces.

In condemning in the strongest terms the "unacceptable acts" by Croatian Government forces against UN peace-keepers, including the deaths of one Danish and two Czech members of the UN forces, the Council demanded that Croatia fully respect the status of UN personnel, refrain from any attacks against them, bring to justice those responsible for each attack, and ensure the safety and freedom of movement of UN staff.

The parties and others concerned were urged to exercise "maximum restraint in and around Sector East"—a Serb-populated enclave in Eastern Croatia.

Also, in calling for a "negotiated settlement which guarantees the rights of all communities", the Council urged the Government to resume talks under the auspices of the ICFY Co-Chairmen.

'Mass exodus'

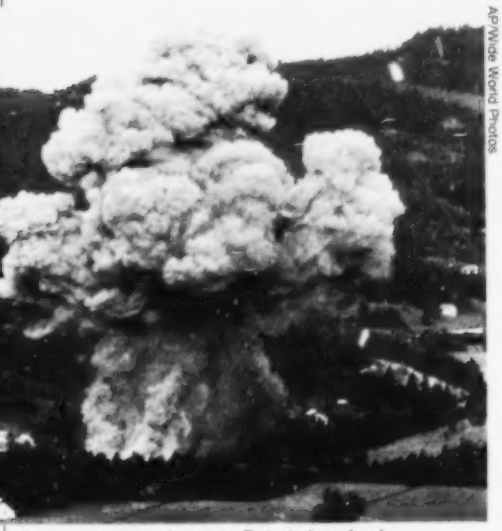
Deep concern at the grave situation of refugees and persons displaced during the Croatian offensive in August and at reports of violations of international humanitarian law and human rights, including the "burning of houses, looting of property and killings", was expressed by the Security Council on 7 September.

In a presidential statement, the Council agreed with the Secretary-General's view that the "mass exodus of the local Serb population" had created a "humanitarian crisis of significant proportions". In that regard, it demanded that the Croatian Government immediately investigate all such reports, take appropriate measures to put an end to such acts, and fully respect the rights of the local Serb population.

The Council also called upon all Member States to provide urgent humanitarian relief and assistance to those refugees.

'Very different demands'

In view of the "radically changed situation" in Croatia, UNCRO faced "three very different demands", the



AP/Wide World Photos

An ammunition depot in Pale is bombed.

Secretary-General reported *(S/1995/835)* on 29 September. First, UN tasks in Sector East should continue to facilitate development of a peaceful solution, towards which both parties had "strongly indicated their willingness to cooperate and undertake negotiations".

Second, the continuing reports of human rights abuses, as well as of looting and burning of houses, had created a climate not conducive to the return of Serb refugees; UNCRO and UNHCR could play a valuable role in that regard, the Secretary-General said. Third, Croatia had asked the UN to monitor its border with both Bosnia and Herzegovina and the FRY.

In addition to monitoring the demilitarization of the Prevlaka peninsula, in accordance with Council resolution 779 (1992), UNCRO could assist in implementing the 29 March 1994 Cease-fire Agreement between Croatia and the local Serb authorities in Sector East, and relevant sections of the 2 December 1994 Economic Agreement, the Secretary-General suggested.

By the end of September, UNCRO strength was to be reduced to 4,190 personnel, with further reductions to some 2,500 scheduled for October.

Sarajevo shelling

On 28 August, Bosnian Serbs shelled the Sarajevo Markeli market, killing 33 and injuring 84 people.

On the same day, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, in expressing his outrage that the attack had occurred in an "area where there is no military target", said he had instructed the military commanders on the ground to "take appropriate action without delay. The continued and senseless shedding of blood in Bosnia and Herzegovina is totally unacceptable", he stressed.

Later in the day, it was announced that the UN had authorized NATO to conduct air strikes against Bosnian Serb military targets, in order to deter further attacks on Sarajevo and other designated safe areas, in fulfilment of resolution 836 (1993).

NATO air strikes

An "unprecedented number of air strikes"—256 during 816 sorties, including cruise missiles—was launched on 30 August by NATO against Bosnian Serb military targets in Bosnia. The UN Peace Forces (UNPF) Commander, Lieutenant-General Bernard Janvier, in Zagreb said that the RRF had backed the NATO action by firing heavy artillery on Serb positions around Sarajevo. The operation would not end "until the threat to Sarajevo and the other safe areas has been completely removed".

In New York, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali stressed that the UN was "not at war" with the Serbs. "We wish them to work with us to resolve this long-running tragedy. But if they persist in their unacceptable attacks upon civilians, the United Nations will continue to support NATO's use of air power", he said.

Withdrawal by the Bosnian Serbs of all heavy weapons from the 20-kilometre "exclusion zone" around Sarajevo, cessation of hostilities and a halt to all threats of attacks against any of the remaining UN-proclaimed safe areas would be the "first step towards a negotiated and durable settlement" of the Bosnian conflict—a "conflict that has raged for too long and has already cost too many lives"—Mr. Boutros Ghali stated.

On 30 August, the Russian Federation expressed its concern to the Secretary-General over the scale of NATO air strikes in Bosnia and the safety of the Russian battalion stationed in a Bosnian Serb-controlled area of Sarajevo. The strikes were "not in conformity with the relevant Security Council resolutions", it mentioned.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali on 5 September expressed hope that the Bosnian Serb leadership would seize the opportunity created by the United States peace initiative to achieve an end to the conflict. "The alternative is a continuation of the NATO air operation, with consequences the Bosnian Serbs fully understand", he stated.

Weapons withdrawn

On 20 September, UNPF Commander Janvier and Admiral Leighton Smith of NATO jointly announced in Sarajevo that the Bosnian Serbs had withdrawn heavy weapons from the Sarajevo "exclusion zone" and, therefore, the "resumption of air strikes is currently not necessary". The Bosnian Serbs had expressed "willingness to discuss a cessation of hostilities agreement at any time", they said, urging all parties to join and finalize such an accord.

Any subsequent attack on Sarajevo or any other safe area, or other non-compliance with the "exclusion zone" could lead to the resumption of air strikes, they warned.

A UN spokesman reported that some 250 heavy guns from around Sarajevo, including four anti-aircraft weapons, had been either withdrawn or destroyed by the Bosnian Serbs.

Agreement welcomed

The Security Council on 8 September welcomed the Joint Statement and Agreed Basic Principles for a peace accord signed by the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) in Geneva. In a presidential statement, the Council strongly urged the parties to "negotiate in good faith and expeditiously on the basis of that Declaration", with the aim of achieving a "lasting peace throughout the region".

Agreed principles included: an understanding that Bosnia would continue to exist with its current internationally recognized borders, and consist of two entities—the Bosniac-Croat Federation and a Serb republic called Republica Srpska; the holding of elections under international auspices; establishment of commissions on human rights and on displaced persons; and setting up of an arbitration system for the settlement of disputes between the two entities.

In debate, delegates pondered the outcome of the Geneva meeting. "We may be at a turning point in the bloody conflict that has ravaged the former Yugoslavia", the United States declared. With the signing of the Joint Statement and Agreed Basic Principles, the basis was laid for an end to the war in Bosnia. Although the threat of war was still looming, the accords had opened a "narrow and precarious window of opportunity for peace".

As for the air strikes, the United States went on, the international community had had "no choice but to respond forcefully" to the 28 August Bosnian Serb attack on the Sarajevo market-place. The strikes would end as soon as the Bosnian Serb leadership complied with Council resolutions.

The Russian Federation demanded an immediate end to "these acts of force". NATO's air attacks and the RRF's shelling of the Bosnian Serbs were "not strengthening, but, rather, undermining efforts to reach a political settlement". Those acts went "beyond the decisions of the Security Council", changed the peace-keeping character of the UN operation in Bosnia, and involved the international community in a "conflict against one of the parties".

China said that in light of the agreement on basic principles, the air strikes should cease immediately. A similar view was expressed by the FRY.

However, most speakers—including Argentina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, France, Germany, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Pakistan and the United Kingdom—viewed the recent UN/NATO action as appropriate and justified.

Resolution 1016: End of hostilities urged

All parties and others concerned in Bosnia and Herzegovina were called upon by the Security Council on 21 September to refrain from violence and hostile acts and "reach immediately a cease-fire and a cessation of hostilities" throughout the country.

In unanimously adopting resolution 1016 (1995), the Council demanded that the parties negotiate "in good faith" on the basis of their Geneva declaration of principles, with the aim of achieving lasting peace throughout the region.

Member States involved in promoting an overall peaceful settlement in Bosnia were called upon to intensify their efforts to "ensure that they take no advantage from the current situation and show utmost restraint". The Council also urged intensified humanitarian efforts to alleviate the plight of refugees and displaced persons.

On 18 September, in deploring the "rapidly escalating military situation on the ground" in Bosnia, the Council expressed "deep concern about the plight of the civilian population resulting therefrom".

In a presidential statement, it also demanded an end to offensive military activities and hostile acts in Western Bosnia, and full respect for the rights of the local population. The Council urged all parties "not to take military advantage of the present situation" and reiterated that there could be "no military solution" to the Bosnian conflict.

Resolutions 1015, 1003: Further suspensions

A further suspension, until 18 March 1996, of some sanctions imposed on the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) was authorized by the Security Council on 15 September. That suspension, originally enacted under resolution 943 (1994) of 23 September 1994, applied to: restrictions on air travel; impoundment of vessels, vehicles and aircraft; maritime traffic; sporting events; and cultural exchanges.

Initial wide-ranging sanctions against the FRY, including an air embargo, had been imposed under resolution 757 (1992) of 30 May 1992. On 17 April 1993, these were tightened to prevent diversion of commodities and products "said to be destined to other places" and to freeze funds held in other States.

In unanimously adopting resolution 1015 (1995), the Council also decided to maintain the arrangements provided for in resolution 988 (1995) of 21 April 1995, namely, an immediate report of any evidence that FRY was not implementing its decision to close its border with Bosnia and Herzegovina or was permitting "substantial diversion of goods, except foodstuffs, medical supplies and clothing for essential humanitarian needs", through Croatia to the Bosnian Serbs. If any such violation was reported, all suspended sanctions were to be reimposed.

On 5 July, the Council had extended the partial suspension of sanctions against the FRY for 75 days, until 18 September 1995. In adopting resolution 1003 (1995) by 14 to none, with 1 abstention (Russian Federation), it also renewed its call for "early mutual recognition between the States of the former Yugoslavia within their internationally recognized borders".

Compliance certified

The FRY was "continuing to meet its commitment" to close its border with the areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina under Bosnian Serb control, and there had been "no commercial transshipments across the border", Carl Bildt and Thorvald Stoltenberg—Co-Chairmen of the ICFY Steering Committee—reported *(S/1995/865)* on 11 October.

Mr. Bildt, a former Swedish Premier, had been appointed by the European Union to replace Lord David Owen as a Co-Chairman in June, following the latter's resignation.

The ICFY Mission—deployed since 14 September 1994—had 206 international observers on duty as of 6 October 1995. It continued to enjoy freedom of movement within the FRY and its cooperation with that country's authorities continued to be good, the report said.

FRY compliance had also been certified by the Co-Chairmen on 6 September *(S/1995/768)* and 3 August *(S/1995/645)*, as they continued to report every 30 days on border closure measures, pursuant to resolution 943 (1994).

The Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 724 (1991) to monitor the implementation of the arms embargo against the former Yugoslavia—the Sanctions Committee—on 15 August invited the Government of Hungary to "ensure the suspension of further deliveries of natural gas at the Hungarian-Yugoslav border until appropriate and lasting agreements on the unhindered supply of gas to all users are reached and adequate guarantees provided".

Committee Chairman Emilio J. Cárdenas of Argentina said the decision was taken after Bosnia and Herzegovina had informed it on 13 July of "disruptions and, since the end of May 1995, a total halting by Bosnian Serbs of supplies of natural gas to Sarajevo" from the Russian Federation through Hungary and the FRY.

In hailing international efforts towards peace in the former Yugoslavia, High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata on 29 September warned that millions of people would remain dependent on humanitarian aid through the coming winter.

She also urged that respect for human rights and humanitarian principles, particularly the right of refugees to return home, be "included in any discussions on an overall peace plan". Such provisions were "crucial for a sustainable peace and recovery in the region", Mrs. Ogata stated.

Srebrenica evictions: 'Most blatant example'

"Brutal violations of basic humanitarian principles" by Bosnian Serb forces in treating tens of thousands of civilians in Srebrenica was condemned on 13 July in the strongest possible terms by High Commissioner Ogata.

"Innocent and terrified civilians have been forced to cross front lines, some of them at night", she said. "Families have been forcibly separated. For months, aid has been blocked."

In Tuzla—another UN safe area, to which "thousands of weary and traumatized people" from Srebrenica were coming—UNHCR, UNPROFOR and other agencies were working "around the clock" to ease the plight of the refugees, UNHCR reported on 15 July.

Summary executions

Commission on Human Rights Special Rapporteur Tadeusz Mazowiecki on 22 August reported there was "significant direct and circumstantial evidence" that summary executions had taken place following the Bosnian Serb take-over of Srebrenica.

Mass executions might have occurred, he went on, although further investigation, particularly of the alleged sites of mass graves, was still necessary before any conclusion could be drawn. Some other human rights violations included "physical abuse and inhuman and degrading treatment".

In his final report *(E/CN.4/1996/9)* on the human rights situation in the former Yugoslavia, Mr. Mazowiecki, who resigned in July, having served the Commission since August 1992, also expressed "great concern for the thousands still reported missing", as well as the "mental suffering and anguish which has heedlessly been inflicted on the Bosnian Muslim population of Srebrenica".

On 29 September, Elisabeth Rehn—a Member of the European Parliament and Finland's former Minister of Defense and Minister for Equality Affairs—was named as new Special Rapporteur on human rights in the former Yugoslavia.

Interim Accord signed by Greece and FYROM

In welcoming the Interim Accord, signed by Greece and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) on 13 September at UN Headquarters, the Security Council urged the parties to implement fully the pact, which it believed would "promote the strengthening of stability in the region".

In a 15 September presidential statement, the Council also encouraged Greece and FYROM to continue efforts to resolve their remaining differences, primarily over the latter's name, stressing that it looked forward to the establishment of a "new relationship" between the parties based on "international law and peaceful, friendly relations".

The Accord—negotiated under the auspices of the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the United States—provided, among other things, that the two neighbouring States would respect each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence, and confirmed their common existing frontier as an "enduring and inviolable international border".

Also, FYROM was to "cease to use in any way the symbol in all its forms displayed on its national flag", and Greece was to terminate the trade embargo imposed in February 1994 against its neighbour.

Some other provisions related to: resumption of the unimpeded movement of people and goods; humanitarian and cultural rights of the two peoples; "good-neighbourliness" and a commitment to settle disputes exclusively by peaceful means; international, multilateral and regional institutions; and economic, commercial, environmental and legal relations.

The parties were also to continue to negotiate, under the Secretary-General's auspices, with a view to reaching a permanent agreement on their differences.

New Commission to investigate possible destabilization efforts

Arms embargo lifted

Reports of continuing violence and fear of retribution against returning refugees, the arming of former government forces and alarming prison conditions provided a worrisome backdrop for intensified UN efforts in Rwanda during July, August and September.

Among important developments were the suspension of the arms embargo against Rwanda until at least 1 September 1996 and the creation of a new Commission of Inquiry to look into reports of arming and training of former government forces, with the aim of destabilizing the current Government.

On 16 August, the Council unanimously adopted resolution 1011 (1995), allowing the sale or supply of arms and related *matériel* to Rwanda through points of entry to be designated by the Rwandan Government. The action was taken under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

The embargo was originally imposed under Council resolution 918 (1994) of 17 May 1994. On 9 June 1995, by resolution 997 (1995), it further affirmed that those restrictions also applied to the sale or supply of arms to persons in neighbouring States, if this would be for use within Rwanda. Those States were asked to take steps to end "factors" contributing to Rwanda's destabilization and to ensure that such arms and *matériel* were not transferred to Rwandan camps within their territories.

In resolution 1011, the Council expressed great concern at reports of military preparations and increasing incursions into Rwanda by elements of the former régime, and underlined the need for effective measures to ensure that Rwandan nationals currently in neighbouring countries, including those in camps, "do not undertake military activities aimed at destabilizing Rwanda or receive arms supplies, in view of the great likelihood that such arms are intended for use within Rwanda". The uncontrolled circulation of arms, including to civilians and refugees, the Council warned, "is a major cause of destabilization in the Great Lakes subregion".

UN Photo 187139/C. Dufka

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, during a visit to Rwanda in July, spoke to survivors of a church massacre at Nyarubuye.

No reselling of arms

Resolution 1011 stipulates that no arms and related *matériel* supplied to the Rwandan Government may be resold to, transferred to, or made available for the use of any State neighbouring Rwanda, or any person not in the service of the Government. All States should prevent the sale or supply of arms to Rwanda, or to persons in neighbouring States, "if such sale or supply is for the purpose of the use of such arms or *matériel* within Rwanda", except to the Government.

Consultations with Governments of neighbouring States on the deployment of UN military observers in the airfields and other transportation points should continue, the Council recommended. Also, the Rwandan Government should continue its efforts to create "an atmosphere of trust and confidence for the safe return of refugees".

The Council also asked Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to look into establishing a Commission to address arms flow allegations.

After the vote, Rwanda said that in submitting the resolution, its current Government "does not want to inherit an embargo which was imposed upon the genocide Government".

Zaire, contending that the action would not contribute to easing tension, said it would be forced to refuse admittance to refugees at the border or to expel or deport to another State those refugees already on its territory. It underlined that it could not indefinitely sacrifice its own security for the sake of unilateral solidarity and humanitarianism which could be "suicidal" for Zaire.

Under resolution 1013 (1995), adopted unanimously on 7 September by the Security Council, an International Commission of Inquiry would be set up to look into allegations that former Rwandan Government Forces (RGF) were receiving military training in order to destabilize Rwanda. The Commission would be authorized to collect information and investigate reports about the sale or supply of arms and related *matériel* to the RGF in the Great Lakes region of Africa.

It would also identify parties "aiding and abetting" illegal arms acquisitions by those forces and recommend measures to end the illegal arms flow in the subregion, the Council declared. Governments of States where the Commission would carry out its mandate should "cooperate fully".

An impartial panel

The new body would be composed of five to ten impartial and internationally respected persons, including legal, military and police experts. The international community would collate relevant information and make it available to the Commission.

After the vote, Rwanda—a non-permanent member of the Security Council—said it had repeatedly asked the UN for information on the training and arming of the RGF, but without success. "It is a shame", he said, "that this problem, which affects the security of an entire region, should be put on the back burner, when prevention would cost the United Nations and its Member States less than allowing the situation to fester."

Zaire gave wholehearted support to establish the Commission, to put an end to "accusations".

In a 25 August letter *(S/1995/761)*, the Secretary-General said the Commission would constitute "an important element in preventing renewed conflict in the region, provided that it enjoyed the support and cooperation of all concerned". It should have the freedom to obtain information from all relevant sources, "free access, without prior notification, to all sites it deemed necessary for its work", and the ability to privately interview any person.

In an 8 August report *(S/1995/678)*, the Secretary-General said that despite the fact that a quarter of the Rwandan population remained in refugee camps near its borders, the security situation in the country had improved "markedly" since June.

A consensus had emerged concerning the need to prevent acts of violence that might pose a threat to regional peace and stability, with some Governments having indicated interest in setting up the arms commission.

While the Rwandan Government over the past year had made efforts to stabilize conditions, the Secretary-General still cautioned that "many of the causes of the conflict and ensuing genocide remain to be addressed in a determined and comprehensive manner". Economic weakness and the lack of public revenue to run an effective administration frustrated efforts, he warned.

With tensions along the borders able to "erupt in uncontrollable violence at any moment", the Rwandan Government, the countries in the subregion and the international community must address the vital issues confronting that crisis-torn nation, the Secretary-General stressed.

During his July visit to the subregion, he had also followed up on an earlier Council request and had undertaken further consultations regarding the convening of a regional conference to consider the interrelated problems of peace, security and development.

'No more genocide'

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 13 July addressed the Rwandan Parliament in Kigali during a visit to the region. The following was excerpted from his remarks:

Everyone thought that since the Second World War was over there would be no more genocide, but there has been another genocide. We must, therefore, find solutions. Return to peace must be a prerequisite for the reconstruction of Rwanda. Unless you find a way to integrate the refugees and have them return, you will not have any real reconstruction. If ever they do begin to return, if ever you do succeed in taking steps to restore confidence, to show that you want justice, not vengeance—I know you do want justice, you are in favour of justice, not in favour of vengeance—then, at that time, you will be able to build a new peace. It will take many years to forget this genocide, to forget this fratricidal war during which many thousands of women, children and men were killed in the most horrible manner. And we need reconciliation; reconciliation must not be confined to words, it must be reflected in deeds.

Encouraging voluntary return

Mr. Boutros-Ghali considered it particularly important to encourage the voluntary return of refugees and said some positive steps and confidence-building measures were being taken by the Rwandan Government. He also suggested convening a regional meeting to develop specific measures to fulfil commitments already agreed upon by Rwanda, the neighbouring countries hosting Rwandan refugees, and humanitarian agencies. This would be in addition to holding "round-table meetings", in which all sectors of Rwandan society, including the refugee community, would participate.

Representatives from all sectors of Rwandan society must begin talks in order to reach an agreement on a constitutional and political structure needed to achieve lasting stability. No political leaders suspected of planning and directing the genocide the previous year would be included.

Prison conditions in the country constituted "a major humanitarian crisis", the Secretary-General said. More than 50,000 people were being held in places of detention, although actual prison capacity was only 12,250, with more than 200 deaths estimated per month.

To reverse the situation, he had

asked Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs Peter Hansen to initiate, in coordination with the Government and the international community, "effective and urgent measures".

The repatriation of the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) troops had begun, Mr. Boutros-Ghali reported. As of 3 August, troop strength was down to 3,571, towards the authorized level of 1,800. Due to its adjusted mandate, the Mission's military component had shifted to assisting in the process of normalization of the country, delivery of humanitarian aid, and provision of engineering and logistical support. UNAMIR's ability to provide such assistance was increasingly limited by the gradual reduction of its manpower and other resources. Earlier restrictions on its freedom of movement had "generally ceased", he said.

On 9 June, the Council adopted resolution 997 (1995), extending the Mission until 8 December, and adjusting its mandate to emphasize peace-building activities and authorizing a troop reduction to 1,800 within four months.

Consultations on military observers

Reporting on 9 July *(S/1995/552)* on the results of consultations of his Special Envoy, Aldo Ajello of Italy, with Rwanda and its neighbours, the Secretary-General informed that there was "strong opposition" on the part of some countries to the proposed deployment of UN military observers in their territories, including at airfields located in eastern Zaire, in order to monitor the sale or supply of arms and *matériel*. The consultations had been requested by the Council in resolution 997.

The Secretary-General said that Mr. Ajello, who had visited the region from 20 to 28 June, had found agreement that "a broader approach, with the involvement of Rwanda and its neighbours and the support of the international community as a whole, would offer better opportunities for a lasting solution to the Rwandan crisis".

There was also a growing recognition "not only of the urgency and gravity of the risks confronting the countries of the region, but also of the need for the Governments concerned to take individual and collective measures to address these dangers".

However, while Rwanda and Burundi had welcomed the proposed deployment, the United Republic of Tanzania had refused, suggesting instead that the UN strengthen its military presence in Rwanda to ensure the safe return of refugees. Zaire, though supporting "any effective action that could prevent the destabilization of Rwanda", again strongly denied accusations of aiding the RGF, recalling that it had in fact asked for an inquiry. Uganda had neither objected to nor shown enthusiasm for the proposal, the report stated.

Demining, arms issues

On 17 July, the Security Council, again acting under Chapter VII, decided to permit the supply to Rwanda of explosives if intended exclusively for demining programmes.

In resolution 1005 (1995), it underlined the importance of efforts to eliminate the threat posed by unexploded land-mines, which it said "constitute a substantial hazard to the population of Rwanda, and an impediment to the rapid reconstruction of the country".

The Security Council Committee set up to monitor the arms embargo on 19 July adopted work guidelines and approved a United States' request to supply Rwanda "an appropriate quantity" of explosives and related *matériel* for use in a bilateral humanitarian demining assistance programme.

On 27 July, the Committee appealed for information on violations or suspected violations of the arms embargo, and requested that Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, and individuals forward to their own Governments or to the Committee any relevant information they might have.

On 29 August, the Secretary-General described *(S/1995/762)* his concerns over recent developments in the Great Lakes Region, including *refoulement* of refugees from Zaire. Added to the already precarious security situation in the region, it raised the possibility of "yet another humanitarian tragedy", he said.

Steps were being taken to set up a Regional Integrated Information Unit to "fill existing gaps in the flow and analysis of information, thereby enhancing the international humanitarian community's capacity to develop and implement integrated approaches" to address regional problems, he said.

"A lasting solution of the crisis facing the Great Lakes Region lies only in the early restoration of political stability and security", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stressed. Referring to the sudden departure on 28 August of Rwandese Prime Minister Faustin Twagiramungu and four other Cabinet Ministers, the Secretary-General said: "Notwithstanding recent changes in the Rwandese Government, I am confident that we will continue our work in a constructive and positive spirit to enhance Rwanda's capacity for ensuring the observance of human rights for all its citizens, the safety of the returnees and justice for all." Pierre Celestin Rwigema was subsequently appointed Prime Minister.

Council President Francesco Paola Fulci of Italy on 7 September informed the Secretary-General of members' concern over the "continued gravity of the situation" and underlined the need for a coordinated, effective response from the international community.

Forcible repatriation

On 23 August, the Council called on Zaire to "reconsider and halt its declared policy of the forcible repatriation of refugees to Rwanda and Burundi".

In a presidential statement, Zaire was asked to "stand by its humanitarian obligations regarding refugees", including those under the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951. (The Convention stipulates that "contracting States shall not expel a refugee lawfully in their territory, save on the grounds of national security or public order".)

Zaire and other States that had accepted refugees from the two war-torn countries "make an important contribution, in spite of the considerable difficulties created for them thereby, to peace and stability in the region",

UNHCR Photo/H.J. Davies

Since the crisis emerged in 1994, 2 million refugees in the region have sought assistance. *Above*, Rwandans at Katale camp in Zaire.

the Council declared. This contribution was of special importance in view of the genocide that had taken place in Rwanda and the possibility of further bloodshed in Burundi.

The Council also noted the commitment of the Rwandan Government to take the necessary steps to facilitate the safe return of its nationals as soon as possible, and encouraged it to continue its efforts in this respect. The international community was asked to provide "all possible assistance to help care for the refugees".

On 22 August, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) condemned the expulsion of refugees from camps in eastern Zaire. According to Carrol Faubert, UNHCR special envoy for the Great Lakes region, the Agency stood ready to open a dialogue aimed at resuming a voluntary repatriation programme for all the region's 2 million refugees.

Two reception centres were opened in Rwanda to receive refugees from Goma and Bukavu, and another facility was located at Burundi's border town of Gatumba.

On 18 August, Mr. Boutros-Ghali urgently appealed *(S/1995/723)* to Zaire to continue to provide to the refugees assistance "that accords with the traditions of generosity of the people of Zaire".

Ministers from Zaire and Rwanda, meeting on 25 September in Geneva, vowed to curb extremist activities and provide security and protection to refugees, according to a joint communiqué issued at the close of the day-long meeting of the Tripartite Commission, chaired by UNHCR.

In the communiqué, Zaire pledged to reduce intimidation in the camps in its territory. Rwanda would strengthen reception facilities and protect returnees.

The Tripartite Commission, which comprises the two countries and UNHCR, met within the framework of an agreement signed in Kinshasa in October 1994 that called for the voluntary repatriation of Rwandan refugees in Zaire. Tripartite agreements covering Rwandan refugees in the United Republic of Tanzania and Burundi have also been concluded.

Continuing violence

Responding to killings on 11 and 12 September in Kanama commune in north-west Rwanda, the Secretary-General on 13 September warned that such incidents "can only exacerbate tensions in the area and undermine the current efforts to promote peace and stability in Rwanda and the subregion as a whole".

He welcomed the setting up of a joint investigation team, to include UNAMIR representatives and Rwandan authorities, as well as UN human rights monitors, to establish the facts of the incident and recommend measures to prevent recurrences.

The UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs on 5 September proposed actions to resolve the crisis in Rwanda's prisons. It noted that some 50,000 Rwandans were being held in 215 places of detention, and that hundreds had died as a result of overcrowding. Meanwhile, the judicial system remained paralyzed and no genocide trials had begun.

On 11 August, Mr. Hansen had described the prison situation in Rwanda as "a humanitarian nightmare". In some instances, there were four prisoners per square metre, "with no shelter from baking sun or pouring rain".

On 3 August, the World Food Programme (WFP) had begun emptying several food warehouses in Rwanda, so that the Government could convert them into temporary detention centres to ease prison overcrowding.

Many prisoners, WFP said, were charged with acts of genocide during the Rwandan civil war, when as many as 1 million Tutsis and politically moderate Hutus were massacred. With the judicial system in Rwanda strained, no prisoners had as yet been sentenced.

International Tribunal

The International Tribunal for Rwanda, to be located in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, had a sound financial basis and would be operational later in the year, the Secretary-General reported *(S/1995/741)* on 25 August.

Present inquiries were centred on a small number of individuals who were suspected of being "principally responsible for the planning, incitement or commission of crimes".

José Luis Jesus of Cape Verde was appointed in August as the Secretary-General's Envoy to the Great Lakes region to facilitate the preparation and convening of a regional conference on peace, security and development in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa. ■

Five-member Commission of Inquiry to investigate violence, massacres

A five-member international Commission of Inquiry has been set up by the Security Council to establish the facts relating to the 21 October 1993 assassination of President Melchior Ndadaye of Burundi during a failed *coup* attempt, as well as the massacres and related violence that followed.

"Deeply concerned that impunity creates contempt for law and leads to violations of international humanitarian law", the Council on 28 August, in adopting resolution 1012 (1995), asked Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to create the new body as a matter of urgency.

It stressed that "all persons who commit or authorize the commission of serious violations of international humanitarian law are individually responsible for these violations and should be held accountable".

On 15 September, the appointment of Commission members was announced: Edilbert Razafindralambo of Madagascar, Chairman; Abde El Ali El Moumni of Morocco; Mehmet Guney of Turkey; Luis Herrera Marcano of Venezuela; and Michel Maurice of Canada.

To eradicate impunity

The Commission was to recommend measures of a legal, political or administrative nature, after consulting with the Burundi Government, as well as measures aimed at bringing to justice those responsible for acts falling within its mandate. This was intended "to prevent any repetition of deeds similar to those investigated by the Commission and, in general, to eradicate impunity and promote national reconciliation in Burundi", the Council stated.

Also in resolution 1012, the Council stipulated that States, relevant UN bodies and international humanitarian organizations should provide substantiated information on acts under the Commission's purview.

Burundi authorities and institutions, including all political parties, should fully cooperate with the Commission, the Council declared. The Government should adopt "any measures needed for the Commission and its personnel to carry out their functions throughout the national territory with full freedom, independence and security".

The UN would provide security, in cooperation with the Burundi Government. A trust fund has been established to receive voluntary contributions to finance the Commission.

In debate, Burundi declared that a new "movement has been furiously intensifying strategies that would lead to a genocide similar to that in Rwanda". Crimes against humanity had been committed and were continuing, he said, warning that a "new variant of Nazism is being created in the heart of Africa at the end of the twentieth century".

Given the facts and the seriousness of the crimes in his country, he urged that the international Commission "identify the real perpetrators".

Rwanda stressed that Burundi's problems could not be resolved without taking into account what was happening in the other countries of the subregion, which was "now considered a powder keg and a source of refugees".

'Deep-seated crisis'

In recommending on 28 July to the Council that a commission be established, Mr. Boutros-Ghali emphasized *(S/1995/631)* that "the full cooperation of the Burundian authorities will be a necessary condition for the success of the commission's work".

His Special Envoy, Pedro Nikken, visited Burundi earlier in the year, reporting that the country was going through "a deep-seated crisis". The violence, formation of militias, summary executions and "every manner of abuse against human dignity" had continued unabated, he said. Tens of thousands had been murdered and "the level of atrocities has often reached a peak of hysteria".

Calls for an end to the impunity, which the perpetrators, instigators and abettors of the many violent crimes had enjoyed, had become more insistent, he said. However, the courts were "virtually paralyzed" and large segments of society had no trust in the impartiality of the judicial system.

On 11 August, Special Rapporteur on Burundi, Mrs. Shanti Sadiq Ali, reported to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination that extremists on both sides of the conflict had strengthened their bases of support, which had further escalated the conflict. Human rights violations, such as arbitrary arrests and killings, torture and disappearances, had been widespread. ■

'A solemn appeal for tolerance'

On 17 July, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali addressed the Burundi authorities and officials in Bujumbura. He said he had come to the country first of all as Secretary-General of the UN, but also "as an African, to make an appeal to all my sisters and brothers of Burundi. A solemn appeal for peace, tolerance and reconciliation."

He stated: "We are all aware that the African continent—and your region in particular—is today witnessing one of the most difficult, one of the saddest and most tragic periods in its history."

With mistrust dividing Burundi's leaders and communities, he said that "the time has come to banish the spirit of confrontation" which had inflicted such harm upon the country. "May Burundi realize at last that no one wins through confrontation, no one wins through violence."

Strict implementation of Lusaka Protocol asked

UNAVEM III mandate extended

The third United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) was extended until 8 February 1996 by the Security Council, which urged the Angolan Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) to "adhere strictly to the revised timetable on the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and make concerted efforts to accelerate that process".

UN Photo 159414/M. Grant

Final arrangements for troop quartering and disengagement were to be made.

Under resolution 1008 (1995) of 7 August, the Council expressed "concern at the slow pace", while at the same time noting progress made so far in implementing the 20 November 1994 Lusaka Protocol, which reaffirms the validity of the 31 May 1991 Peace Accords, aimed at ending 20 years of civil conflict in Angola. A comprehensive agreement, the Protocol includes sections on the acceptance of relevant legal instruments, military issues, police, national reconciliation, completion of the electoral process and a timetable for implementation.

The Council also asked the two parties, in cooperation with UNAVEM III, to finalize arrangements for establishing quartering areas, complete troop disengagement and expedite demining.

Without further delay

The Government and UNITA should adopt without further delay a "comprehensive and workable programme" for the formation of the new armed forces, and accelerate the exchange of prisoners and the repatriation of mercenaries, "with a view to reinforcing the freedom of movement of people throughout the country", the Council said. The two parties should also put an "immediate and definitive end" to the renewed laying of mines and to reported unauthorized troop movements.

The Council called on the Government and UNITA to provide UNAVEM III with the necessary information and ensure freedom of movement, including full access to all military facilities, to enable it to effectively carry out its mandate.

Deployment of UN infantry units should continue and accelerate as conditions improve, and an increase in the strength of the Mission's human rights unit was also authorized. The disarmament of the civilian population should also begin without further delay.

The Council also wanted safe passage of humanitarian supplies throughout the country, and encouraged generous contributions to the humanitarian effort and provision of mine clearance, bridging and road repair equipment and materials, and other supplies necessary for setting up the quartering areas.

In debate, Afonso Van Dunem "Mbinda" of Angola said that by creating UNAVEM III in February 1995, "a major boost" had been given to the peace process, which had helped curtail initial pessimism. In seeking to accelerate the process, agreement had been reached on the principle of full incorporation of UNITA forces into the Angolan armed forces. Although this would increase initial personnel to more than the number set in the Protocol, demobilization would bring the level down to the agreed 90,000, he said.

During a visit to Angola from 14 to 16 July, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said the arrival of the UN battalions "will not by itself be able to resolve all the problems connected with a 20-year-old conflict". Each party to the Lusaka Protocol had to fulfil its obligations "in good faith", he stressed.

On 30 September, Major-General Phillip Sibanda of Zimbabwe assumed the post of UNAVEM III Force Commander, replacing Maj.-Gen. Chris Garuba of Nigeria.

Distrust diminishing

In a 17 July report *(S/1995/588)*, the Secretary-General said that the progressive deployment of UN military and police observers and troops had helped to consolidate the cease-fire. Occasional military tensions and incidents notwithstanding, the Government and UNITA had been "adhering to the spirit of the Lusaka Protocol".

The "general atmosphere of mistrust" between the two parties was diminishing, the Secretary-General said. He welcomed the agreement on an accelerated timetable for the Protocol's implementation that would make up for past delays.

The Central Committee of the ruling Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola (MPLA) on 16 June had offered UNITA one of two Vice-Presi-

dential posts. The other would be held by a senior MPLA member.

The demining and rehabilitation of major routes was vital and would affect "almost every aspect of the peace process", including deployment of UN troops and the Protocol's implementation.

The humanitarian situation in Angola continued to improve, with varying degrees of progress in opening vital roads for humanitarian deliveries, the Secretary-General reported. Some joint initiatives in areas under both parties' control had been launched. There were severe deficiencies in health services, clothing and basic food items in certain regions.

The economic and social situation was "precarious", and the effects of the Angolan conflict had been profound, with up to 70 per cent of the basic health system destroyed; approximately 70,000 people mutilated by weapons or mines; and 1.2 million internally displaced persons, 300,000 refugees and 3.2 million more in need of emergency humanitarian assistance.

The country's debt/export ratio had reached 365 per cent; gross domestic product per capita had fallen to $410, half that of 1990; and the 1993 inflation rate had reached 1,838 per cent, while the rate for 1994, though lower, was still at 972 per cent.

The transition from the relief phase to an effective structure for rehabilitation and development would require considerable capacity-building. The World Bank and other UN agencies were developing plans to support Angola's reconstruction efforts.

A 'formidable challenge'

In a 12 September report *(A/50/424)*, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said the country's economic rehabilitation presented "a formidable challenge to the Angolan people, their leaders and the international community".

It was, he said, generally believed that the 1992-1994 conflict has been "more devastating for the country than all the previous years of war put together". As previously inaccessible areas were visited and assessed, the overall picture was one of "destitution, massive destruction of physical infrastructure and severe disruption of socio-economic activities". The civil conflict had resumed in late 1992, following UNITA's rejection of the results of the October elections, held in accordance with the 1991 Peace Accords.

Priority areas for future action, according to Mr. Boutros-Ghali, included resettlement of internally displaced persons and returnees, demobilization and reintegration of troops, demining, and community rehabilitation and national reconciliation.

On 7 August, the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs appealed for $102 million for a revised assistance programme for demobilization and social reintegration of former combatants. Complete demobilization was to take place in stages over a period of approximately two years.

On 29 June, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees appealed for $44 million for voluntary repatriation of the estimated 300,000 Angolan refugees over the next 30 months.

Meeting in Brussels on 25 and 26 September, donors pledged $993 million to consolidate the peace process and promote development in Angola. ■

Chronic crisis spawns threat of renewed war

While the current situation remained fragile, Somalia "has slowly moved towards recovery and rehabilitation", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali declared on 19 September. At the same time, insecurity in many areas of the country continued "to affect negatively the pace of recovery and has prolonged the need for humanitarian assistance, particularly for vulnerable and disadvantaged groups", he cautioned.

Reporting on assistance for humanitarian relief and the economic and social rehabilitation of Somalia *(A/50/447)*, Mr. Boutros-Ghali stressed that the country, faced with ongoing inter-clan conflict and the absence of central authority, continued to suffer "from a chronic crisis of governance characterized by banditry, political instability, violence and the threat of a renewed full-scale civil war".

Until March 1995, the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) had provided an umbrella structure for humanitarian operations of the United Nations and non-governmental organizations, as well as "substantial logistical support for resettling internally displaced persons and military escorts for humanitarian convoys. Following UNOSOM's departure, eight UN organizations had maintained and, in some cases, expanded their activities.

"Somalia will continue to remain vulnerable to future disasters" in the absence of national institutions capable of coping even with minor emergencies, the Secretary-General stressed in his report. Appealing for donor support, he said a commitment was needed "to proactively support" the presence and programmes of the UN in order to prevent Somalia from slipping back into another period of crisis.

The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees on 12 September said it needed $27.9 million to cover a shortfall in its 1995 budget for the repatriation and integration of Somali and Ethiopian refugees through the end of the year.

On 18 September, a UN spokesman reported that 21 international aid workers—17 from the UN Children's Fund, four from CARE—had been trapped in Baidoa, following an attack the day before by forces of Gen. Mohamed Farah Aidid. They were in their offices and not in immediate danger. By 22 September, the 21 workers were released and reported safe outside the country. ■

Liberian factions end conflict

Council extends mandate of UNOMIL

The Security Council on 15 September welcomed the signing of a new cease-fire agreement for Liberia, the installation of a Council of State and other steps to peacefully resolve that country's six-year-old civil conflict. In adopting resolution 1014 (1995), it also extended the mandate of the UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) to 31 January 1996.

On 21 August, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had welcomed the signing on 19 August of the Abuja Agreement as an "important step on the road to peace in Liberia" and called on all the Liberian parties to fully implement it. Such action would send "the strongest possible signal to the Liberian people and the international community that the parties were ready to seize this important new opportunity for peace", he said.

In resolution 1014, the Council welcomed the Secretary-General's intention to increase immediately by 42 the number of military observers in Liberia to monitor the agreed cease-fire and disengagement of forces.

The Secretary-General was to submit recommendations on a new concept for UNOMIL operations, to address measures to enhance links between the Mission and the Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and aspects concerning disarmament and demobilization, as well as resources needed for effective implementation of UNOMIL tasks.

The Council also welcomed the Secretary-General's intention to send a mission to consult with Liberian leaders on what would be needed to implement the Abuja Agreement. Member States, particularly African countries, were urged to consider providing troops for an expanded ECOMOG.

In debate, Liberia said that with an eye to the future, the Government was trying to revive the economy, reopen schools and hospitals, and restore water and electricity to areas it controlled, he said. It was also encouraging investors to come back.

> "West African States have borne an enormous burden in trying to bring peace"

Ghana said that after many false starts and failures, the Liberian civil war was finally ending. West African States, despite their dire economic straits, had borne an enormous burden in trying to contain the war and bring peace to Liberia.

Report

In a 13 September report *(S/1995/781)*, the Secretary-General said that in accordance with the Abuja Agreement, the parties should make every effort to complete the disengagement, assembly, disarmament and demobilization of their forces.

The parties had installed a Council of State on 1 September and re-established a comprehensive cease-fire which appeared to be effective. Having agreed upon a timetable for implementing the peace agreement, including disarmament and demobilization, the parties had begun disengaging their forces, he stated.

At least 10 peace agreements had been signed and broken since 1989, the Secretary-General went on. Nevertheless, prospects for peace in Liberia were perhaps better now than they had been at any time since the outbreak of the civil war.

Over the past few months, ECOWAS members had effectively harmonized their policies towards Liberia. Their representatives had met with faction leaders on numerous occasions and a new spirit of cooperation had emerged.

The international community should assist the parties in implementing the latest agreement, the Secretary-General went on. Describing Liberia as a country rich in natural resources, he stated that it could be put on the "path to recovery" in a relatively short period of time.

Demobilization of Liberia's 50,000 to 60,000 combatants, of whom 25 per cent were children, was a critical factor.

However, due to economic conditions, many combatants had resorted to the "rule of the gun" in order to feed themselves and their families. The country's national police force could not maintain law and order even in the capital city of Monrovia, where that function to some extent was performed by ECOMOG.

Abuja Agreement

The Abuja talks, convened by the ECOWAS Chairman, President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, culminated on 19 August in the signing by the leaders of the Liberian factions of an agreement amending and supplementing two previous peace pacts—the Cotonou and Akosombo accords, signed on 25 July 1993 and 12 September 1994, respectively.

The Agreement called for a cease-fire, which commenced on 26 August, and a six-member Council of State, composed of faction leaders, to remain in power until the elections, scheduled for 20 August 1996. ■

Mission mandate extended to January 1996

Possibility of withdrawal not ruled out

In extending the mandate of the five-year-old UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) until 31 January 1996, the Security Council noted the Secretary-General's intention to present alternative options, including the possibility of the Mission's withdrawal, if conditions necessary for the start of a transitional period for the referendum on self-determination were not in place before then.

In unanimously adopting resolution 1017 (1995) on 22 September, the Council asked the Secretary-General to report by 15 January on progress towards implementing the UN settlement plan for Western Sahara, stating whether or not the transitional period could begin by 31 May 1996.

The Council also called on the Government of Morocco and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Rio de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) to work with the UN Secretary-General and MINURSO to implement the settlement plan, stop insisting on strict reciprocity in the operation of the identification centres, and cease all "procrastinating actions which could further delay the holding of the referendum".

The Secretary-General had reported that both sides were reluctant to compromise on any issue which they believed could weaken their own position. He appealed to the parties to make every effort to permit the expeditious implementation of the settlement plan.

The Council also asked for "specific and detailed proposals" to resolve problems hindering the completion of the identification process. After receiving a report from the Secretary-General, the Council would review arrangements for completing the identification process and consider further measures to ensure its prompt completion.

MINURSO—known by its French acronym—was established by Council resolution 658 (1990), which set out plans for a settlement of the Western Sahara question. It provided for UN-supervision of a cease-fire between Morocco and POLISARIO, and a referendum in which the people of the Territory would choose between independence and integration with Morocco.

On 8 September, the Secretary-General reported *(S/1995/779)* that progress in the last three months had been "disappointing". So far, a total of over 53,000 persons had been identified as being qualified to vote in the referendum, including 40 per cent of applicants residing in the Territory and about half of those in refugee camps.

> "The Council has called for an end to all procrastinating actions"

He estimated that, with the cooperation of both parties, the identification process in all four refugee camps and three of four centres in the Territory (with the exception of Laayoune) could be completed in approximately five weeks.

Morocco intended to present 100,000 applicants residing outside the Territory for identification and had reportedly completed preliminary vetting of applicants, the Secretary-General stated, adding that POLISARIO had categorically dismissed the applications as an attempt to include 100,000 Moroccan nationals in the voters' list.

POLISARIO also rejected certain members of the Chorfa, Northern, and Coastal and Southern tribes, including groups which they said "in no sense" belonged to the Territory. POLISARIO suggested that the controversial groups be processed after less contentious cases had been completed. POLISARIO agreed, the report went on, to participate in the identification on the assumption that the number would be modest and the individuals could be identified by one tribal leader from each side.

Morocco, on the other hand, had insisted that there be no discrimination between applicants, irrespective of whether they were currently residing in or outside the Territory, and irrespective of the criterion under which they applied.

Morocco felt that if identification were to take place without the participation of tribal leaders from POLISARIO, documentary evidence would be required to establish that the individual's father was a Saharan and was born in the Territory. POLISARIO and the Organization of African Unity would observe the proceedings. If such a programme could be implemented, there would be no practical reason why the identification of persons living outside, as well as those from the camps and the Territory, could not be completed in approximately four months, it felt.

Morocco also reiterated its commitment to reduce its troops to the agreed level of 65,000 at the appropriate time, the report added. POLISARIO objected to the suggestion that its troops be confined outside the Territory, and Morocco refused to agree that the troops be confined in the area between the sandwall (berm) and the international border of Western Sahara.

The International Committee of the Red Cross was prepared to start working on the release of prisoners of war as soon as the parties were ready to do so, the report stated. Both parties had expressed their readiness to address all questions relating to the agreement on the exchange of prisoners. ■

Country moves towards presidential elections

Two missions extended

Haiti—described as "a very poor country with 200 years of agitated history"—was moving towards presidential elections, scheduled for 17 December 1995 and 21 January 1996, with its people "feeling more secure", Lakhdar Brahimi, the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Haiti, told the press on 2 October at UN Headquarters.

The national army had been dismantled, and for the first time in the country's history, a national police of 5,000 men was being created, he said. The UN Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) was doing "reasonably well". Its role was to assist Haitians with security matters and help organize the elections, Mr. Brahimi observed.

UNMIH extended

The Security Council on 31 July, in extending the Mission for seven months, said it looked forward to the "conclusion of UNMIH's mandate at that time and to the safe, secure and orderly assumption of office by a new, constitutionally elected government".

By unanimously adopting resolution 1007 (1995), the Council also commended UNMIH on its successful efforts to assist the Haitian Government in sustaining a "secure and stable environment, protecting international personnel and key installations, establishing the conditions for holding elections, and professionalizing the security forces".

In addition, it thanked UNMIH and the joint International Civilian Mission to Haiti (MICIVIH) of the UN/Organization of American States (OAS), as well as contributing States, for their "assistance with the municipal and legislative elections" that had begun on 25 June.

The Council also expressed "deep concern with irregularities" observed in the first round of those elections, and urged all parties to the process to "pursue every effort to ensure that such problems are corrected in future balloting".

UN Photo 188547/J. Isaac

Special Representative Brahimi

In welcoming the continuing efforts of Haiti's President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to work towards national reconciliation, the Council called upon the Secretaries-General of the UN and OAS to continue to render "all appropriate assistance to the Haitian electoral process".

States and international institutions were also urged to provide assistance to the Government and people of Haiti "as they consolidate the gains made towards democracy and stability".

By the end of June 1995, UNMIH—established by Council resolution 867 (1993)—had 6,065 military and 847 civilian police personnel, 191 international and 240 local staff, as well as 19 UN volunteers.

The General Assembly on 12 July, in welcoming the "prospect of free and fair presidential elections and the smooth transition to a new, democratically elected government", in accordance with the Haitian Constitution, extended the UN component of MICIVIH until 7 February 1996.

In adopting without a vote resolution 49/27 B, the Assembly also reaffirmed the international community's commitment to an increase in technical, economic and financial cooperation with Haiti, in support of its economic and social development efforts and in order to strengthen those institutions responsible for "dispensing justice and guaranteeing democracy, political stability and economic development".

'Significant progress'

Four months after its takeover from the Multinational Force—deployed in September 1994 to create conditions necessary for the return of democracy to Haiti—UNMIH had made significant progress in sustaining the secure and stable environment, conducive to the organization of free and fair legislative elections, and assisting in creating a police force, the Secretary-General reported *(S/1995/614)* on 24 July. He hoped that by February 1996 Haiti would have duly elected institutions and a functioning security system.

The Haitian Government, political parties and people should "find ways to move forward together", taking full advantage of the presence of a "large number of personnel deployed by the international community to assist them in their efforts to return Haiti to the family of democratic nations", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated.

As the Haitian National Police "progressively takes over law-and-order responsibilities", it was essential, the Secretary-General went on, that demobilized members of the Haitian security forces be reintegrated in civil society. Overall economic, social and institutional development was also necessary for a "lasting restoration of democracy in Haiti", he stressed.

On 2 October, Special Representative Brahimi reported that the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the European Union and "half a dozen countries" had pledged "over $1 billion in various facilities such as loans" for Haiti. That response had been important, considering that the country's population was only 7 million. However, that aid had been necessary since Haiti had been "so neglected and exploited", Mr. Brahimi said. ■

West Bank accord furthers peace process

Fourth major pact signed

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 28 September welcomed another important step in the Middle East peace process—the interim agreement between the Government of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) on Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank.

It is the third historic instrument concluded between Israel and the PLO since the signing in September 1993 of the 17-article Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements for the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho.

The new accord—which consists of 31 articles followed by 6 annexes—was signed on 28 September by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat in Washington D.C., at a White House ceremony presided over by United States President William J. Clinton.

It provides for, among other things, the redeployment of Israeli troops, release of Palestinian prisoners and the hand-over of civil authority in the West Bank to an elected Palestinian Council, as well as for cooperation in economic and environmental fields.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali said he hoped the pact would "encourage progress in the Israeli-Syrian and Israeli-Lebanese tracks" of the Middle East peace process, leading to a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

In reasserting the firm commitment of the UN in support of the peace process, the Secretary-General also stated that the programmes and agencies of the UN system would continue to provide "all possible expertise and assistance in the field of economic and social development".

The Declaration of Principles was signed by Prime Minister Rabin and PLO Chairman Arafat on 13 September 1993, also at the White House. The two parties agreed that it was "time to put an end to decades of confrontation and conflict, recognize their mutual legitimate and political rights, and strive to live in peaceful coexistence and mutual dignity and security and achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement and historic reconciliation through the agreed political process".

That historic pact had paved the way for a number of important accords in the Middle East peace process, including: the 4 May 1994 Cairo Agreement between Israel and the PLO on Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and Jericho; the 26 July 1994 Washington Declaration, which ended the state of belligerency between Israel and Jordan, and the ensuing 26 October 1994 Peace Treaty between the two countries; and the 28 September 1995 West Bank agreement.

AP/Wide World Photos

Signing the accord on 28 September: Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin *(seated at left)* and PLO leader Yasser Arafat *(seated at right)*. Among the onlookers, King Hussein of Jordan *(second from left, standing)*, United States President William Clinton *(seated centre)* and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak *(second from right, standing)*.

Resolution 1006: UNIFIL extended

The mandate of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was extended by the Security Council on 28 July for another six months, until 31 January 1996.

By unanimously adopting resolution 1006 (1995), the Council also condemned the "increase in acts of violence committed in particular against the Force" and urged the parties to end them. It concurred with the streamlining of UNIFIL, as proposed by the Secretary-General, and stressed that its implementation would not affect the Force's operational capacity.

The Secretary-General on 19 July had proposed *(S/1995/595)* that UNIFIL's overall strength be reduced by about 10 per cent. The streamlining was to be effected with the regular rotation of contingents, leading to savings of about $10 million in annual personnel costs.

Following the adoption of resolution

1006, the Council, in a statement by its President, Foreign Minister Delmer Urbizon Panting of Honduras, reaffirmed its commitment to the "full sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries".

The Council also asserted that "any State shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State", or in any other manner inconsistent with UN purposes.

In expressing "concern over the continuing violence in southern Lebanon", the Council regretted the loss of civilian life and urged all parties to exercise restraint.

The Government of Lebanon was commended for its "successful efforts to extend its authority in the south of the country in full coordination with UNIFIL".

Also, the Council reiterated its full support for the 1989 Taif Agreement—which had established provisions for ending Lebanon's civil war—and for the Lebanese Government's "continued efforts to consolidate peace, national unity and security in the country, while successfully carrying out the reconstruction process".

Attacks condemned

On 21 August, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali strongly condemned the terrorist attack against two buses in Jerusalem, and extended condolences to the families of the victims. He hoped, however, that despite that "outrageous incident", the parties would remain "undeterred in their negotiations to implement in full the Declaration of Principles".

In condemning an earlier "vicious act of violence"—the 24 July terrorist attack on a commuter bus in Tel Aviv—the Secretary-General on 25 July said he was "encouraged by the determination of Israeli and Palestinian leaders" to continue the peace process. The UN would "exert all possible efforts to support the forces of peace in the region, especially through the extension of economic and social assistance to the Palestinian people", he assured.

Libyan expulsions

Libya and other Governments in the Middle East were urged on 29 September to "redouble their efforts" to resolve the current crisis facing Palestinian refugees, who were being expelled from Libya or forced to live in desert camps near Tobruk, some 150 kilometres from the Egyptian border.

In an unprecedented joint statement issued concurrently in Geneva and Vienna, UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Sadako Ogata and Commissioner-General Ilter Turkmen of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) also called on Libyan authorities and other affected Governments to "exercise compassion and restraint".

According to reports, some 32 Palestinians, including several small children and a five-month-old baby, were stuck in no-man's land at Assaloum on the Egypt/Libya border, with another 36 stranded in Rafah, next to the border between Egypt and Gaza. A further 1,500 Palestinians—of some 30,000 believed to have been living in Libya before the expulsions—were being relocated to camps in the Tobruk area. Many of those affected did not possess rights of residence elsewhere, and other countries in the region were reportedly maintaining additional restrictions on their entry and movement.

It was also reported that UNRWA and UNHCR were providing food and shelter at border crossing points and were interceding "on a humanitarian basis" with other States in the region to obtain transit and residence facilities.

Appointments, announcements

Major-General Rufus Modupe Kupolati of Nigeria on 1 September was named Chief of Staff of the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), as of the beginning of October.

On 21 August, two libraries in Lebanon—at the University of Saint Joseph and the Lebanese University—were designated as UN depositary libraries, making them part of an international network of some 347 libraries in 140 countries that provide UN documents and publications to researchers.

PLO Chairman Arafat on 11 September, in a first step towards a new unified education system for Palestinians, inaugurated a model kindergarten in the Jabaliya section of Gaza City, designed by the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). UNESCO was renovating 17 schools in a $2.5-million programme funded by Saudi Arabia. It was also training Palestinian Ministry of Education officials in administration and planning, with Italian financial support.

NGO symposium

An international meeting of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) involved in Palestine-related activities on 1 September condemned Israel's closure of certain Palestinian institutions and other "acts of harassment by Israel, including hampering deliveries of needed supplies and medicines".

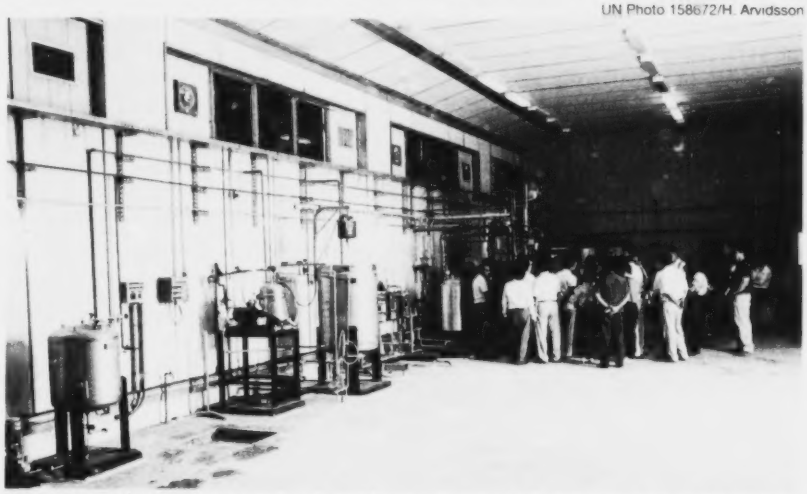
In a communiqué issued by the UN International NGO Meeting and European NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine (29 August-1 September, Vienna), participants expressed concern over Israel's delays in implementing "both the letter and the spirit" of the 1993 Interim Self-Government Agreement.

The gathering—which brought together more than 160 participants and observers representing 37 Governments, 55 NGOs, 4 intergovernmental organizations, 10 UN entities and the Palestinian Authority—held a series of panel discussions and informal workshops, led by specialists in a variety of fields from the region and elsewhere.

Subjects discussed included: a retrospective of UN involvement with the Palestine question over the past 50 years; elements of final peace settlement and obstacles to peace; political, economic and social situation in the occupied territories; human rights violations under Israeli occupation; Palestinians in the diaspora; and cooperation between Israeli and Palestinian NGOs and groups, as well as interaction between national and international NGOs involved in Palestinian issues. ■

Information on biological weapons programme reported hidden

UN Photo 158672/H. Arvidsson



UN biological inspection teams, such as the one shown above, have worked to determine Iraq's weapons potential in that area.

Iraq had hidden information about a biological weapons programme that had been conceptualized, researched and put into effect before the 1990 Persian Gulf war, according to Rolf Ekéus, Executive Chairman of the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) set up under Security Council resolution 687 (1991) in connection with the disposal of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Munitions, bombs and long-range missile warheads filled with biological warfare agents had been deployed and prepared for use, he reported on 13 October.

Since the Commission's report in June, Baghdad had released "new and significant information", he stated, revealing that in addition to imports from the former Soviet Union, Iraq had indigenously produced Scud-type missile engines and carried out research and development on a variety of projects on missiles of prohibited ranges (i.e. more than 150 kilometres).

Furthermore, Mr. Ekéus said, Iraq's efforts to conceal its biological weapons programme, its chemical missile warhead flight tests and work on missile development for the delivery of a nuclear device had led it to provide incorrect information on certain of its proscribed missile activities.

The new revelations had cast into doubt the veracity of Iraq's previous declarations in the missile area. Inaccurate information on how many missiles existed had handicapped the Commission's ability to verify whether or not all had been destroyed, and that was of particular significance if the weapons had chemical or biological warheads, Mr. Ekéus said.

In 1991, Iraq had declared it had destroyed all proscribed weapons and "components". The Commission had been unable to verify this because the orders for destruction had, according to Iraq, been given orally and there was no written documentation. The Commission could not accept that explanation at face value. This aspect needed further verification, including supporting evidence such as authentic documentation from Iraq.

Misleading actions

As an example of how Iraq had been misleading the Commission, Mr. Ekéus said that, as recently as a few weeks ago, Iraqi officials had taken Commission members to a site where they had announced that a considerable amount of biological and chemical warheads had been dumped and burned. They had then modified the account of the number of warheads involved and the location of the alleged destruction site. The condition of the rubble made it impossible to verify what was there.

He knew that Iraq had the facilities to produce chemical warfare agents. Those facilities were being used for legitimate civilian purposes and being monitored by cameras.

The Commission's monitoring system had detected and exposed Iraqi efforts to circumvent UN sanctions by importing missile related equipment without having notified the UN Sanctions Committee. A monitoring video camera, in particular, had also unmasked the use of prohibited equipment in their current permitted missile programme.

Also, the abrupt departure of Gen. Hussein Kamel Hassan (Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's son-in-law) from Iraq for Jordan last summer could still not be fully explained, Mr. Ekéus said. Nevertheless, he believed that the Commission's consistency of method and purpose had been a major element in pushing the Iraqi Government into an untenable situation, leading to its volte-face in early August. In his view, the Commission's monitoring and verification system, far from being stale, was lean, dynamic, effective and reactive.

Report to the Security Council

In an 11 October report to the Security Council *(S/1995/864)*, Mr. Ekéus stated that Iraq had agreed to provide a full, final and complete disclosure in the missile, chemical and biological areas.

In the chemical weapons area, the Special Commission's investigations had led to disclosure of proscribed activities aimed at acquiring a considerable capability for the production of the advanced nerve agent VX. Whether

Iraq still stored precursors for immediate VX use had not been fully clarified.

The Commission would have to adjust some of its monitoring activities to prevent Iraq from using its chemical compounds and equipment for secret acquisition of chemical weapons, the report stated. Further destruction of some Iraqi chemical facilities and equipment had to be contemplated.

The Commission had detected and identified a hitherto secret offensive biological weapons programme in Iraq comprising a large-scale production of biological warfare agents, and the filling and deployment of missile warheads and aerial bombs with those agents, as well as biological weapons research and development activities of "considerable width and depth".

As late as August, Iraq had presented to the Commission a formal, but essentially incorrect, declaration on its biological weapons activities. Consequently, the Commission had requested again and Iraq had agreed to provide a full, final and complete disclosure. Much remained to be verified, in particular the destruction of munitions and bulk agents, the report stated.

The increased flow of data, whether originating in Iraq's new admissions or in recently obtained documents, had opened up new possibilities for a solid and credible account of the proscribed weapons, the report added. Prospects for the full implementation of Council resolution 687 (1991) had improved.

The system for ongoing monitoring and verification was now in place and had been tested for some time, the report said. Even if the new revelations had led to adjustments, redirection and augmentation of activities, the system had already proved to be robust and fundamentally sound.

'Full openness' needed

Iraq must demonstrate "a full openness and a manifest willingness" to cooperate in all its dealings with the Special Commission, the report went on. Iraq's stated preparedness to provide such cooperation was a hopeful sign. If Iraq were genuinely to translate its statements into action, there would be a real hope for the completion of the task entrusted to the Special Commission within a reasonable time-frame, the report concluded.

On 25 August, Mr. Ekéus told reporters that new information obtained from Iraq had revealed the development of a "full-scale" biological weapons programme, which had matured after Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

Iraq had admitted to having gone far beyond what it had stated in its written declaration on biological weapons of 4 August, he added. It had also admitted having produced ten times more Anthrax than it had previously declared. Furthermore, three different types of biological warfare agents, including one that had been kept secret until now, had been put into a total of 191 bombs and missiles.

In all, he said, Iraq had admitted to producing some tens of thousands of litres of various biological agents. The process of filling weapons with agents had taken place in December 1990, just before the outbreak of the Persian Gulf war.

Mr. Ekéus added that Iraq had denied it had used any biological weapons during the Persian Gulf war. Iraq had declared that all agents were destroyed in July and August 1991, which would require the provision of evidence from Iraq and verification by the Commission.

Iraq had also admitted to the development of indigenous missiles, which required vigorous investigation. Further, it had supplied the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) with information that it had been working on a nuclear crash programme, immediately after the invasion of Kuwait, to produce a nuclear bomb from highly enriched uranium by April 1991, Mr. Ekéus said.

Following the departure of Gen. Hussein Kamel from Iraq in early August, the Commission's Executive Chairman and the IAEA Director-General had been invited to Baghdad to receive more information from Iraq on its various weapons programmes. At the end of this trip, an Iraqi official had asked Mr. Ekéus to go to a chicken farm owned by Gen. Kamel, where the special forces had found eight large shipping containers and roughly 150 metal boxes containing documentation relating to nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, and missiles. The Commission was now analyzing the information which could be a lengthy and difficult process, Mr. Ekéus said.

Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz, in a letter of 6 October to the Security Council *(S/1995/846)*, claimed Iraq had cooperated with the Special Commission and the IAEA to achieve the objectives of Council resolutions 687 (1991) and 715 (1991).

Since the end of 1991, Iraq had kept none of the weapons banned by resolution 687 and had undertaken no activity that contravened its obligations under that resolution, he added. He hoped that the Council would take this fact into consideration during its next deliberation.

However, the Special Commission pointed out that it was still in the process of verifying Iraq's compliance with the various prohibitions outlined in resolution 687. To that end, Iraq had to provide relevant documentation and other types of evidence needed by the Commission to fulfil its mandate.

Sanctions continued

After informal consultations on 8 July and 8 September, the Council President informed the press that the sanctions remained in place.

Iraqi Foreign Minister Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf, in a meeting with Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 6 October, reiterated Iraq's refusal to accept Council resolution 986 (1995), which allowed for a partial lifting of sanctions against Iraq to enable it to sell oil and use the proceeds for humanitarian purposes.

Also on 6 October, the Council accepted the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM) should be continued. In a 2 October report *(S/1995/836)*, the Secretary-General said the Mission had contributed significantly to the calm in its area of operation and enjoyed the effective cooperation of the Iraqi and Kuwaiti authorities. ■

TAJIKISTAN

Protocol signed, cease-fire extended

In welcoming a new Protocol on the fundamental principles for establishing peace and national accord in Tajikistan, the Security Council on 25 August called upon the parties to fully implement their commitments under that pact, signed on 17 August by Tajikistan President Emomali Rakhmonov and Abdullo Nuri, leader of the Tajik opposition.

Council President Nugroho Wisnumurti of Indonesia issued a statement on behalf of members welcoming the six-month extension, until 26 February 1996, by the parties of their 17 September 1994 Agreement on a temporary cease-fire within Tajikistan and along the Tajik-Afghan border

By urging the two sides to "implement as quickly as possible the confidence-building measures" agreed upon at the fourth round of inter-Tajik talks (22 May-1 June, Almaty), the Council reiterated that the primary responsibility rested with the parties themselves in resolving their differences.

All States and others concerned were called upon to "discourage any activities that could complicate or hinder the peace process", respecting fully Tajikistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as the inviolability of the Tajik-Afghan border.

Also, the need to continue close contacts of the UN Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) with the parties, as well as its close liaison with the Collective Peace-keeping forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Russian border forces and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Mission in Tajikistan, was stressed.

On 16 September, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported *(S/1995/799)* that the inter-Tajik negotiations had entered their "most complicated and decisive phase", when the fundamental political problems were to be addressed.

It was of "paramount importance now not to lose momentum" and resume talks as soon as possible, he went on. "Further inaction of the two sides may undermine the credibility of the whole negotiating process and negatively impact the prospects for progress on substantive political and institutional issues", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated. ■

GEORGIA

'Little overall progress' reported

In calling upon Georgia and in particular Abkhazia—a small Black Sea region of Georgia—to continue negotiations "as a matter of urgency", the Security Council on 18 August noted that there had been "little overall progress" in achieving a comprehensive political settlement between the parties, and a stalemate existed with respect to the return of refugees and displaced persons.

In a statement by Council President Nugroho Wisnumurti of Indonesia, the 15-member body also expressed full support for efforts by the Secretary-General and the Russian Federation, in its capacity as facilitator, towards such a settlement, including the status of Abkhazia, "respecting fully the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia".

Expressing deep concern over the "continued obstruction" of the return of refugees and displaced persons by Abkhaz authorities, which it considered "totally unacceptable", the Council called for a guarantee of the safety of all returnees and regularization of the status of spontaneous returnees, in accordance with internationally accepted practice and in cooperation with the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees .

On 7 August, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported *(S/1995/657)* that a significant gap remained between the two sides regarding the political status of Abkhazia within the territorial integrity of Georgia, as both continued to take "positions that cannot, as yet, be bridged".

Abkhazia's constitutional arrangements—declaring it a "sovereign democratic State"—were unacceptable to Georgia, which proposed a federation within which Abkhazia would be granted a "wide degree of autonomy", the SecretaryGeneral stated in his annual report *(A/50/1)*.

A comprehensive settlement should be based on "three essential elements": the safe return of refugees and displaced persons; maintenance of the territorial integrity of Georgia; and a special status for Abkhazia, he stressed.

On 22 September, in meeting with Foreign Minister Alexander Chikvaidze of Georgia, the Secretary-General urged the "continuation of maximum restraint" and called upon the Abkhaz leadership to "return to the negotiating table with specific and meaningful proposals". He also expressed concern over the "recent rise in tension" in the Gali region and the "calls from some quarters to resolve the situation by a return to military action".

In order to provide a continuous presence in the area at the senior political level, the Secretary-General appointed Liviu Bota as resident Deputy to his Special Envoy, Edouard Brunner, effective 1 October. Mr. Bota was also to serve as Head of Mission of the UN Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG). ■

Work on nuclear-test ban to continue in Conference in 1996

Progress in negotiating a comprehensive test-ban treaty had been made at the Conference on Disarmament in 1995, and "strengthened determination" to resolve technical issues could bring those efforts to a successful conclusion no later than 1996, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali declared in his annual report *(A/50/1)*.

On 22 September, the Geneva-based Conference—in ending its three-part annual session (27 January-7 April; 29 May-7 July; and 31 July-22 September)—approved some important changes to an already existing text, mostly relating to scope and the verification aspects of the treaty. That was made possible through the decisions of France, the United Kingdom and the United States to support a true zero yield treaty that would ban any nuclear-weapon-test explosion.

It also decided to re-establish the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban at its 1996 session, "with a view to completing the negotiations as soon as possible and no later than 1996".

Nevertheless, Ad Hoc Committee Chairman Ludwik Dembinski of Poland on 21 September warned that unless the pace of negotiations increased, the Conference would be "hard-pressed" to meet that goal. "A breakthrough must come soon on the scope of the treaty", he told the world's sole multilateral disarmament body.

During the session, the Ad Hoc Group of Scientific Experts to Consider International Cooperative Measures to Detect and Identify Seismic Events continued its work on measures to facilitate an international exchange of seismological data, which would be included in a protocol to the comprehensive test-ban treaty.

With regard to prohibition of production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices—the so-called "cut-off" convention—the Conference in March established a relevant ad hoc committee, but failed to appoint a Chairman.

There was also no agreement on establishing or re-establishing ad hoc committees on: cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament; prevention of nuclear war; prevention of an arms race in outer space; effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons; new types of weapons of mass destruction; radiological weapons; and transparency in armaments.

> "A breakthrough on a test ban must come soon"

On membership expansion, the Conference decided on 21 September that 23 States—Austria, Bangladesh, Belarus, Cameroon, Chile, Colombia, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Finland, Iraq, Israel, New Zealand, Norway, Republic of Korea, Senegal, Slovakia, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, Ukraine, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe—would "all assume together membership of the Conference at the earliest possible date to be decided by the Conference".

In a closing statement on 22 September, Conference President Nacer Benjelloun-Touimi of Morocco expressed regret that the positive conclusion of the 1995 Review and Extension Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), held from 17 April to 12 May in New York, had "not created the conditions needed for a balanced approach to resolving the persistent problems" of the Conference on Disarmament.

"It is clear that fundamental differences still exist regarding basic priorities, in particular, the question of nuclear disarmament and the issue of conventional weapons", he stated.

The 38-member Conference consists of five nuclear-weapon States (China, France, Russian Federation, United Kingdom and United States), other militarily significant States, and neutral and non-aligned countries which form the "Group of 21". In 1995, 52 non-member States participated in the Conference's work as observers.

Session highlights

There was no disagreement about an overall need for a ban on nuclear testing. Some provisions of the draft already commanded a "certain degree of consensus", the Conference reported. Other clauses, however, needed "more extensive negotiation".

"Through the forest of square brackets, the makings of a workable comprehensive test-ban treaty are now becoming available", the United Kingdom declared on 17 August, as it dropped reservations on scope and accepted a total ban on all nuclear explosions.

The United States reaffirmed its commitment to do everything to conclude the negotiations "as rapidly as possible".

India on 21 September said that the test-ban treaty and the "cut-off convention" would be meaningful if "linked firmly to the total elimination of all nuclear weapons". Otherwise, they would be "narrow and futile exercises", aimed at controlling non-nuclear-weapon States and further strengthening the "discrimination inherent in the existing non-proliferation regimes", it stated.

Chile on 17 August observed that continued testing by the nuclear Powers sent a "message to non-nuclear-weapon States" that such weapons were to be considered legitimate and were "important symbols of power". ■

Mine clearance an 'absolute necessity'

In declaring mine clearance an "absolute necessity", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 6 July called for the elimination of land-mines "once and for all". "We must ban their use. We must ban their production. We must destroy those that are stockpiled", he told the International Meeting on Mine Clearance, held from 5 to 7 July in Geneva.

In urging all States to contribute to the Voluntary Trust Fund for Assistance in Mine Clearance—established in November 1994 and administered by the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs—the Secretary-General called the existence and proliferation of anti-personnel land-mines a "blatant violation of the principles" the world community was striving to uphold.

Land-mines—the "most widespread and pernicious" of all forms of debris left in the aftermath of conflict—were "real weapons of mass destruction", both "perverse and insidious", since they blindly struck civilian populations, "often long after conflicts have ended", he stated.

An estimated $87 million was raised for mine clearance activities during the three-day Geneva gathering, of which some $21.6 million was pledged for the Trust Fund and $7 million for the UN demining stand-by capacity, set up in 1994 to make better use of in-kind contributions. In addition, some $58 million more was expected through bilateral and multilateral programmes and additional provision of experts, equipment, facilities and services.

Called for by General Assembly resolution 49/215 of 23 December 1994, the Meeting brought together representatives of 97 Governments, 11 intergovernmental and 31 non-governmental organizations, as well as 16 UN bodies.

In closing the Meeting, its President, Foreign Minister Erik Derycke of Belgium, said the event had been "very significant" in the world community's efforts to address the global land-mine crisis. It had served to enhance international awareness of the problem and seek additional political and financial cooperation and support for UN mine-action activities.

Although the challenge remained "one of enormous proportions", Mr. Derycke stated that a great deal had already been done. Comprehensive mine-action programmes in Afghanistan and Cambodia had "cleared hundreds of thousands of square kilometres of high-priority areas which enabled the local people to regain their lives. Every mine cleared may have saved the life of one human being", he stressed.

More than 110 million land-mines were spread in 64 countries around the world, and some 10,000 non-combatants died every year because of land-mines explosions, with thousands more maimed, blinded or otherwise injured. ■

Ban on blinding lasers adopted

A new protocol banning the use or transfer of blinding laser weapons was approved on 13 October by the first Review Conference of States Parties to the 1980 Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects (25 September-13 October, Vienna).

The Conference, which followed the International Meeting on Mine Clearance, could not, however, agree on a revised protocol on anti-personnel mines. It decided to meet in two resumed sessions, scheduled to be held in Geneva in 1996 (15-19 January and 22 April-3 May), with a view to adopting a final text of the revised Protocol.

There was general agreement at the session that the aim of a strengthened land-mine Protocol should be the eventual adoption of a total ban on those mines. Nevertheless, negotiations stalled around issues related to, among other things, definitions of "detectability" and "self-destructing" mechanisms, as well as the amount of time that States should be allowed to bring their mine stocks in line with the proposed specifications.

The new text—Protocol IV of the 1980 Convention—prohibits the use against the naked eye, or the naked eye with corrective lenses, of all blinding laser weapons. It also prohibits their transfer to any State or non-State entity, and enjoins State parties using laser weapons to take "all feasible precautions to avoid the incidence of blindness, including training of their armed forces and other practical measures".

Protocol IV would enter into force six months after the 20th State would become party to it. Three other Protocols of the Convention, which came into effect on 2 December 1983, ban or restrict the use of non-detectable fragments, land-mines, and incendiary weapons (Protocols I, II and III, respectively).

As of October 1993, the Convention had 49 States parties. Four additional States—Brazil, Malta, Romania and South Africa—also ratified the Convention, which would enter into force for them after a six-month waiting period.

The Review Conference was attended by 453 delegates from some 44 States and 40 observer nations, as well as representatives of non-governmental and intergovernmental organizations and programmes.

Breaking new ground ...

Women's Conference adopts 'Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action'

UN Photo 191214

Meeting in Beijing: "A revolution has begun", Conference Secretary-General Gertrude Mongella declared.

Acknowledging "the voices of all women everywhere" and declaring that "women's rights are human rights", the Fourth World Conference on Women—one of the largest world gatherings under UN auspices—concluded in China's capital city on 15 September with the adoption of the "Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action", a comprehensive, ground-breaking plan for the international community to promote the status of women.

"My dear sisters and brothers, we have made it", declared Conference Secretary-General Gertrude Mongella, as thousands of delegates cheered after almost two weeks of difficult deliberations and sometimes acrimonious debate at the Conference in Beijing (4-15 September).

"We have managed to transcend historical and cultural complexities; we have managed to transcend socio-economic disparities and diversities; we have kept aflame our common vision and goal of equality, development and peace", said Mrs. Mongella. "A revolution has begun and there is no going back."

Invited by the Platform for Action, which calls on States to respond with concrete commitments to improve the status of women, more than 100 countries and most UN organizations made formal commitments in their statements during the Conference plenary.

In addition to the Declaration and Platform for Action, these commitments constitute the major results of the Conference, most of them dealing with three areas: reform of national policies; numerical targets for the year 2000; and frameworks for international development cooperation.

Some 50,000 persons—more than two thirds of them women—came to Beijing for the Conference and related events. These included nearly 5,000 delegates from 181 Member States, 4,000 representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and 3,200 media representatives. A parallel NGO Forum on Women '95, held from 30 August to 8 September, attracted some 30,000 participants. As Mrs. Mongella noted, this was "an all-inclusive celebration of women's work" that helped "cement the bonds and networking among women from all corners of the globe".

Progress uneven

Among its 38 provisions, the Beijing Declaration recognizes that the status of women has advanced in some important respects in the past decade, but that progress has been uneven, inequalities between women and men

have persisted and major obstacles remain, with serious consequences for the well-being of all people.

The 189 Governments taking part in the Conference pledged to dedicate themselves "unreservedly to addressing these constraints and obstacles and thus enhancing further the advancement and empowerment of women all over the world, and agree that this requires urgent action in the spirit of determination, hope, cooperation and solidarity, now and to carry us forward into the next century".

Platform for Action

The Platform for Action establishes a basic group of priority actions to be carried out over the next five years. It deals in depth with 12 critical areas of concern, considered as the main obstacles to women's advancement: poverty; education; health; violence against women; armed conflict; economic structures; power sharing and decision-making; mechanisms to promote the advancement of women; human rights; the media; the environment; and the girl child.

The Platform builds on progress made based on three previous UN conferences on women—in Mexico City in 1975, in Copenhagen in 1980, and in Nairobi in 1985—and reflects a review and appraisal of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women.

The Beijing Conference is part of a cycle of world conferences convened by the UN in recent years, which have covered such global issues as environment and development, human rights, population and social development.

"From each of these global conferences emerged a more powerful recognition of the crucial role of women in sustainable development and protecting the environment, of the human rights of women as an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights, of violence against women as intolerable violations of these rights, of health, maternal care and family-planning facilities, and of access to education and information, as essential to the exercise by women of their fundamental rights", UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said at the Conference's conclusion.

The Platform for Action also expands on the General Assembly's 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, confronting issues once considered taboo, such as the problems of domestic and sexual abuse, forced pregnancy and sexual slavery. It explores the role of the media in "eliminating patterns of media presentation that generate violence" and calls for the establishment of professional guidelines and codes of conduct that address violent, degrading and pornographic media materials.

Some contentious issues

Several issues generated heated debates at the Beijing Conference, but eventually produced agreement on actions countries should take. Though the Platform was adopted by consensus, reservations were expressed, in writing and orally, by about 40 countries on specific provisions, mostly dealing with health.

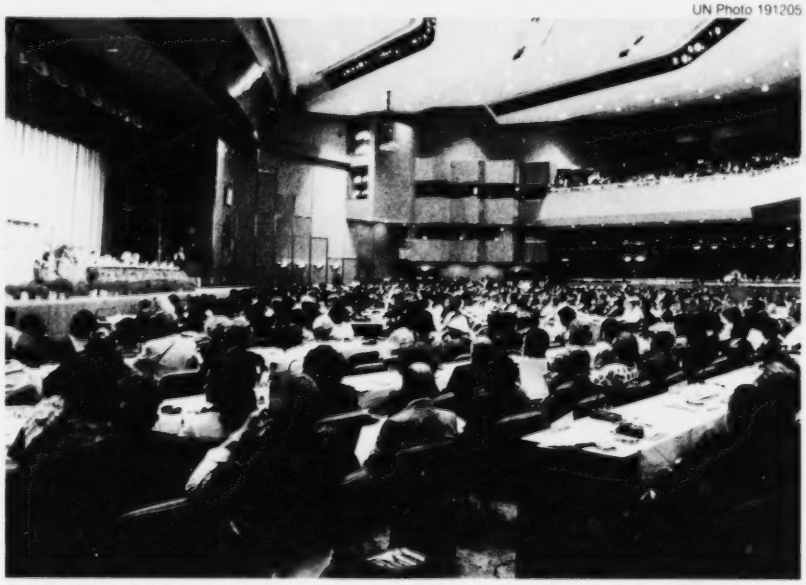
Agreements that aim to broaden women's rights and propose qualitatively new measures include:

◆ **Women's rights as human rights:** Expanding on provisions already agreed upon in the groundbreaking 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Platform asserts women's right "to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related to their sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, free of coercion, discrimination and violence". A disputed text that called for elimination of discrimination due to "sexual orientation" was dropped after the Chairperson of the Conference's Main Committee ruled that there was not enough support for its inclusion.

◆ **Right to inherit:** Many African delegates, who felt that traditional legal structures often discriminate against women in land rights, supported the equal right of women and girls to inheritance. Delegates from some Islamic countries argued that their religious inheritance laws, which were based on the principle of equity, mandated a distribution of assets that gave a woman half the amount that her brother inherited. A compromise between the two positions in the Platform emphasizes the injustice and discrimination women and girls often face and calls for "enacting, as appropriate, and enforcing legislation that guarantees equal right to succession and ensures equal right to inherit, regardless of the sex of the child".

◆ **Parental responsibility:** The Platform recognizes the "rights and

UN Photo 191205



The Conference drew massive attendance: some 50,000, more than two thirds of them women.

duties of parents and legal guardians" to provide guidance in the exercise of the rights of young people, but it also upholds the rights of young people to information, privacy, confidentiality and informed consent on matters related to sexuality and reproduction.

◆ **Reviewing laws on illegal abortion:** The Platform commits nations to "consider reviewing laws containing punitive measures against women who have undergone illegal abortion". However, borrowing the formulation adopted at the International Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo last year, it notes that "in no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning".

◆ **Role of the family:** The Platform recognizes the family as the basic unit of society, and acknowledges the "social significance of maternity, motherhood and the role of parents in the family and in the upbringing of children". It also asserts that maternity must not be a basis for discrimination or restrict the full participation of women in society.

◆ **Culture and religion:** Religion, thought, conscience and belief, the Platform asserts, can "contribute to fulfilling women's and men's moral, ethical and spiritual needs and to realizing their potential in society". However, it also acknowledges that any form of extremism may have a negative impact on women and can lead to violence and discrimination.

◆ **Rape is a war crime:** Rape in armed conflict, the Platform asserts, constitutes a war crime and, under certain circumstances, an act of genocide. It condemns "massive violations" of human rights, especially in the form of genocide. "Ethnic cleansing" as a strategy of war and rape as its consequence are also condemned. Such practices must be immediately stopped, the Platform states, and perpetrators of such crimes "must be punished".

◆ **Women's unremunerated work:** Although included in the UN System of National Accounts and in international standards for labour statistics, women's household work and contribution to food production are largely undervalued and underreported. The Platform calls for developing methods for assessing the value of unremunerated work in quantitative terms for possible reflection in accounts that may be produced separately from, but consistent with, core national accounts.

◆ **Women leaders as mothers and professionals:** Women leaders bring to their positions of leadership many different life experiences, including but not limited to their experiences in balancing work and family responsibilities as mothers, professionals, managers and entrepreneurs. The Platform urges the media and the private sector to produce materials on women leaders that portray such diverse roles, and not to present women as inferior beings and exploit them as sexual objects and commodities.

Implementing the Platform

The Platform makes specific recommendations for its implementation and monitoring:

◆ Commitments by Governments to develop strategies to implement the Platform by the end of 1996.

◆ Review of policies by UN and international financial institutions to ensure that their investments and programmes benefit women.

◆ Establishing a high-level post to act as adviser to the UN Secretary-General on gender issues and help ensure system-wide implementation of the Platform.

◆ Strengthening the UN Commission on the Status of Women, and a review of the work of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women and of the UN Development Fund for Women. ■

UN Photo 191206

UNITED NATIONS
FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN
BEIJING, 4-15 SEPTEMBER 1995

The Secretary-General's Pledge:

The UN will fulfil the trust of the world's peoples

UN Photo 189990/E. Schneider

On 19 September, the gavel was passed from 49th General Assembly President, Amara Essy of Côte d'Ivoire *(second from right)*, to Diogo Freitas do Amaral of Portugal, President of the 50th Assembly *(second from left)*. The Secretary-General *(left)* and other UN officials look on.

"The United Nations has completed 50 years. Today we open the door to a second half-century. We have a choice to make and only we can make it. Will we walk through the door to the future with faith and determination and in solidarity? Or will it be with the voices of scepticism, criticism and neo-isolationism ringing in our ears?"

This was the question Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali posed to delegates as he opened the historic fiftieth anniversary session of the General Assembly on 19 September.

He answered his own question by adding that, at every level, there was an awareness that the UN, for all its setbacks, had been recognized for having done so much, so well and in such a short span of time. The UN was widely viewed as representing and engaging in causes that humanity held most dear, he said.

"This fiftieth session will be watched by the people of the world. We will fulfil their trust. We will work to realize their dreams," Mr. Boutros-Ghali declared.

During the historic anniversary session, the Assembly was to focus on the issues that have been stressed in the UN Charter—peace and security, and economic and social development. It was also to discuss strengthening and reforming the Organization to fulfil Charter goals.

The UN must be preserved

Diogo Freitas do Amaral of Portugal, elected Assembly President by acclamation on 19 September, picked up on the theme of reform in his opening statement. Despite its failures in the past 50 years, he said that the UN had achieved its principal goal of preventing a third world war. It had also contributed decisively to progress in the fields of disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

As the only universal international Organization, the UN must be preserved, although it should be reformed where it was shown to be faulty, inefficient or out of tune with current conditions. The 50th anniversary was an especially appropriate time to reform the Organization, he added.

The spirit of reform could be created and sustained during the fiftieth session of the Assembly, he said. "But if we fail to seize this opportunity, the occasion may be lost for many years to come."

The revision of some articles and provisions of the UN Charter was a timely and necessary task, Mr. Freitas do Amaral went on. "I do not think, however, that this needs to be done all at once. An incremental approach may

be preferable, provided that consistency is maintained among the different reforms."

He said that the spectacular growth in the number of Member States had had its proper impact on the General Assembly, but the same was not true of the Security Council, which did not adequately reflect the political, economic, demographic and national realities of today's world. Council reform was therefore required and urgent, but it could not be carried out if "national selfishness or domestic electoral considerations in Member countries are superimposed on the necessary spirit of cooperation and consensus", he added.

In his annual report on the work of the Organization *(A/50/1)*, the Secretary-General also spoke of reform and reorganization. He said it was evident that the 50th anniversary had created a spirit and a momentum that went well beyond the commemoration and celebration expected at such a point in time.

Virtually every dimension of the UN had been energized. New realities were being used as the basis for reassessment and redesign. Successes were being built upon. A new spirit of cooperation at every level and on virtually every issue was within the grasp of a wider contingent of committed people than ever before.

It would be important to continue the major efforts launched this year to enable the UN, as an institution, to become more intellectually creative, more financially stable, more managerially effective and more responsive to all sectors of society, the Secretary-General added.

The 50th anniversary year had also generated criticism of the Organization and that was serving to make the UN healthier and stronger, he said. The shortcomings of the Organization itself, inadequate mandates, insufficient financial and material resources, the failure of Member States to fulfil their obligations or take on new responsibilities—all had on occasion been catalysts for criticism.

However, the ultimate source of today's criticism could be found in the impact of globalization on the Organization and its Member States. As the UN was being asked to take on more duties and expand its activities, it was to be expected that the level of criticism should intensify. At the same time, globalization could work against the will to increase involvement, feeding fear and isolationism. Criticisms born of those sentiments could create dangerous misperceptions, the Secretary-General stated.

> "More people than ever before recognize that the UN is truly indispensable"

The continuing calls for reform and the reforms already enacted and under way testified to the recognition by far more people than ever before that the UN was a truly indispensable element in world affairs and that if it did not now exist, it would be impossible to create it under present conditions.

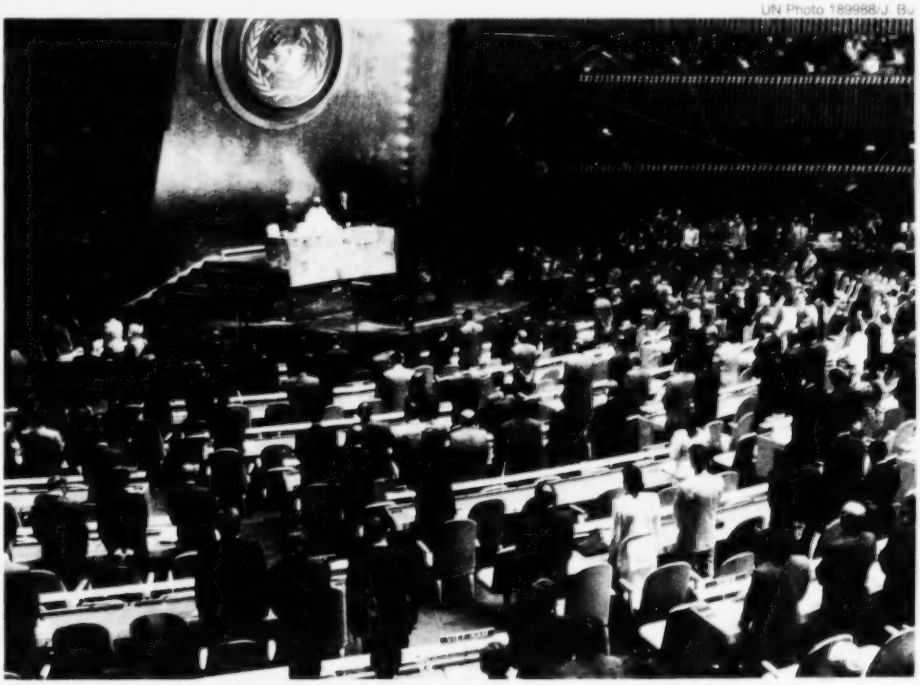
Thus the legacy of 1945 must be cherished and carried forward. In parallel, techniques that had succeeded must be transformed to meet the challenges of a new era, the Secretary-General added.

New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, in welcoming delegates on behalf of the host country, said there was an immense reservoir of good will for the UN in the nation and in the city of New York. "New Yorkers are proud of the United Nations and its continued presence here. Their good will and their pride attest to the foresight of the organizers of the United Nations in choosing New York City as the Organization's permanent home."

The continued viability of the UN was critical to America's mission to foster freedom and democracy throughout the world, he added.

On 19 September, the Assembly elected 21 Vice-Presidents from:

UN Photo 189988/J. Bu



Calls for reform and efficiency are a theme of the 50th session.

Albania, Algeria, Belgium, Bolivia, China, Congo, Costa Rica, France, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Namibia, the Russian Federation, Saint Lucia, Thailand, the United Kingdom, United States and Yemen.

The opening of the 50th Assembly was highlighted by the traditional three-week general debate, during which two Heads of State, one Vice-President, 8 Prime Ministers, 19 Deputy Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers, 126 Foreign Ministers and 16 Chairmen of delegations addressed the Assembly.

Among the major points made in their statements was the importance of strengthening preventive diplomacy and the need to guarantee military and financial support for peace-keeping operations. The limitation and eventual abolition of weapons of mass destruction was singled out once again as a worthy goal. Many Member States expressed their intention to limit the export of anti-personnel mines and other weapons with indiscriminate effects.

Focus on development

In summing up the general debate, Mr. Freitas do Amaral said that economic and social development had rightly occupied a central place in the majority of statements. The international community and Member States must focus on development, as that was essential to the consolidation of peace.

The debate had clearly recognized that the UN was an indispensable instrument of dialogue and mutual understanding in the world, he added. At the same time, a clear awareness had been expressed of the unique and critical moment that the Organization had reached. In a new world order of international relations where dialogue and cooperation had, more than at any time in the past, an opportunity to prevail, it was necessary to ensure that the UN was well-equipped and more effective to face a more hopeful stage of human history.

The clear momentum for reform was an opportunity that must not be lost. A great number of speakers had recognized the need for equitable representation on the Security Council, the Assembly President added.

The financial situation of the UN had been, as in previous years, a concern for Member States. In light of the "acute financial crisis which this Organization is in the grip of", that subject had been identified as a major priority this year, he said.

Among some important topics before the 50th Assembly were: the ongoing conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the work of the international tribunals set up by the Security Council to prosecute war criminals in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda; the status of democracy and human rights in Haiti; and continuing peace efforts in the Middle East.

The Assembly on 22 September adopted a 164-item agenda. Among new topics to be considered are: multilingualism; cooperation between the United Nations and the Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation; a Universal Congress on the Panama Canal; strengthening of the United Nations system; the role of the Trusteeship Council; and the sustainable use and conservation of the marine living resources of the high seas.

Forty-ninth session ends

During the forty-ninth session, which began on 20 September 1994 and ended on 18 September 1995, a total of 233 resolutions and 95 decisions were adopted. Three instruments in the legal and political areas were approved: the declaration on the enhancement of cooperation between the UN and regional arragements; the declaration on measures for the elimination of international terrorism; and the convention on the safety of UN and associated personnel.

On the closing day of the forty-ninth Assembly session, its President, Amara Essy of Côte d'Ivoire, said that due to its universal character, the Assembly was the most competent UN organ for dialogue and conflict prevention and a venue "par excellence" for solving regional problems and pursuing regional peace, a precondition for development across the world. Therefore, the UN should be given the financial and other resources it needed to maintain peace. ■

Diogo Freitas do Amaral
President of the 50th General Assembly

Diogo Freitas do Amaral, who has served as a professor of law at the University of Lisbon since 1970, was elected President of the fiftieth General Assembly on 19 September.

From 1981 to 1983, Mr. Freitas do Amaral served as Vice-Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of Portugal. He was Interim Prime Minister from December 1980 to January 1981, and served as Vice-Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1980 to 1981.

Mr. Freitas do Amaral was President of the European Union of Christian Democrats from 1982 to 1983, a founder of the Portuguese Christian Democratic Party in 1974 and twice its President.

He was also a Member of the Portuguese Parliament and of the Council of State.

He was a candidate in the 1986 Portuguese presidential election, losing to the current President, Mario Soares, while obtaining 48.8 per cent of the national vote.

Mr. Freitas do Amaral received his law degree in 1963 from the University of Lisbon. In 1967, he obtained a Ph.D. in public law, including international law.

Mr. Freitas do Amaral was born on 21 July 1941 in Povoa do Varzim, a small town in the north of Portugal. He is married and has four children.

The Six Main Committees

Their 1995 Agendas

First Committee: Disarmament and International Security

Chairman: Luvsangiin Erdenechuluun of Mongolia

The ongoing diplomatic quest for a comprehensive nuclear test ban will be reviewed in the First Committee as part of consideration of the report of the Conference on Disarmament. The Secretary-General has expressed the hope that negotiations could be brought to a successful conclusion no later than 1996. The Committee will also: consider amending the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water; examine the final text of a treaty on an African nuclear-weapon-free zone; and discuss the establishment of such zones in the Middle East and South Asia. Other agenda items deal with the role of science and technology in international security and disarmament, compliance with arms limitation obligations, and reduction of military budgets.

Second Committee: Economic and Financial

Chairman: Goce Petreski of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

Continued preparations for the second global human settlements conference—HABITAT II—to be held in Turkey from 3 to 14 June 1996 and the declaration of a first Decade for the Eradication of Poverty are among major concerns of the Second Committee. Under the umbrella of the "Agenda for Development", issues related to sustainable development, the environment, population and crime, among others, will be reviewed. A ninth UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD IX), to be convened in South Africa in 1996, and the holding of a UN conference on international migration and development will also be discussed. There will be a general review of UN operational activities for development, and a discussion of the decline in development planning.

Third Committee: Social, Humanitarian and Cultural

Chairman: Ugyen Tshering of Bhutan

The wide-ranging agenda of the Third Committee encompasses human rights, racism and self-determination, refugees, drug abuse and other social development issues. The situations of vulnerable groups—women and children, youth, the elderly, the disabled, indigenous peoples and other minorities—will be examined. The results of the Fourth UN Conference on Women, which adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action, will be discussed, as will reports on violence against women and the plight of women migrant workers. Protection of the rights of children remains a priority item. Challenges posed by the increasing number and complexity of UN humanitarian operations will also be debated.

Fourth Committee: Special Political and Decolonization

Chairman: Francis K. Muthaura of Kenya

The Fourth Committee, formerly devoted exclusively to decolonization issues, now has an agenda embracing a wider range of important issues, predominant among which is peace-keeping. All aspects of UN involvement in this area—including operational mandates, the safety and security of UN personnel, training, rapid deployment and stand-by arrangements—will be discussed. In the area of decolonization, the agenda focuses on the situation of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories. Reports on Palestinian issues, UN public information policies, the peaceful uses of outer space, and the effects of atomic radiation will provide the basis for major debates.

Fifth Committee: Administrative and Budgetary

Chairman: Erich Vilchez Asher of Nicaragua

The current financial crisis and possible reforms are the chief concerns of the Fifth Committee. The proposed UN budget for 1996-1997 of some $2.5 billion will be under consideration. In particular, the Committee will consider other ways in which to alleviate the financial crisis of the Organization. It is also expected to review the efficiency of the UN and how it manages its human resources and the UN pension system. The financing of various peace-keeping operations is also discussed in this forum.

Sixth Committee: Legal

Chairman: Tyge Lehmann of Denmark

The Sixth Committee will consider the establishment of an international criminal court, deletion of "enemy State" clauses from the UN Charter, measures to alleviate the impact of Security Council sanctions on third States, a draft code of crimes against the peace and security of mankind, and practical measures to eliminate international terrorism. Activities during the current International Decade of International Law (1990-1999) and a report from the recently established watchdog Secretariat unit—the Office of Internal Oversight Services—will also be examined.

An 'Agenda for Tomorrow'

World leaders adopt Declaration to commemorate 50th anniversary of the United Nations

UN Photo

World leaders gathered each day in the North Lounge of the UN Headquarters building for special luncheons between plenary sessions.

Special Assembly session hears 200 speakers on UN past, present and future

Three-day celebration a festive, dignified occasion

It was the largest gathering of world leaders in history—presidents, prime ministers, kings, princes, sultans, Heads of State and Heads of Government of all races, creeds, colour and political background.

They converged on the 18-acre site of United Nations Headquarters in New York during three crisp fall days in October, their flag-bedecked limousine motorcades slowly wending their way through Manhattan streets and avenues—strangely empty due to the strictures of unprecedented security—arriving at UN Headquarters on First Avenue to pay homage to the existence for half a century of the world Organization.

"I welcome the Heads of the States and Governments of the world", Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the sixth Secretary-General of the United Nations, declared in opening the special three-day commemorative session, from 22 to 24 October, which capped nine months of celebrations and observances worldwide of the UN's golden jubilee.

"Welcome to your home, the home of the world's peoples. Welcome to the forum of the United Nations—the forum of peace, understanding and development. Welcome to you all, and heartfelt greetings to the world's leaders."

A festive, dignified occasion

General Assembly President Diogo Freitas do Amaral told the opening meeting: "Supporting the United Nations—that should be our collective pledge in this Special Commemorative Meeting. Reforming the United Nations—that should be our political commitment during these three days. We must not allow this Organization to die at the hands of its critics, nor to perish for lack of commitment of its supporters."

Over the next three days—from early Sunday morning through late Tuesday evening—some 200 speakers addressed the Assembly, including 129 Heads of State and Government, most of whom were present for the historic group photograph of debate participants *(see cover and pp. 40-41)* which recorded the unprecedented assemblage.

They also met, in their hotel rooms and mission offices throughout New York, to discuss ongoing political crises and problems on their everyday agendas, using the quiet, behind-the-scenes diplomacy that characterizes the real world of international politics.

And there were social gatherings for the dignitaries and their spouses: luncheons in the UN's North Lounge, at round tables decorated with colourful flowers, and at the ancient Temple of Dendur exhibit inside the Metropolitan Museum of Art; a VIP dinner at New York's World Financial Center; a special concert by the New York Philharmonic in Lincoln Center, highlighted by Beethoven's *Symphony No. 9;* and an elegant reception inside the stone-lion-guarded New York Public Library, hosted by New York City's Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

Altogether, it was indeed at once a festive and dignified occasion—a time for praise and reflection, for plaudits and proposals.

At the end of the celebration, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali told the assemblage: "Your presence speaks, as you have spoken, with eloquence, of confidence in the future of the United Nations." He added: "We have listened to the wisdom of these leaders. Together they have given the world an 'Agenda for Tomorrow'. An Agenda covering every aspect of human society."

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali also lauded the participation of non-governmental organizations, some of whose representatives had addressed the Assembly, stating they had "forged a new global partnership with the United Nations", as well as that of observers from non-Member States and UN bodies throughout the world.

The UN's birthday—24 October—also marked the beginning of the World Week of Peace, which was proclaimed by the Assembly as a time for Governments and peoples of the world to pause to reflect together on the challenges before them, as the UN celebrated its 50th anniversary.

"I appeal to all warring parties, everywhere in the world, to put down their arms and to seek peaceful means to achieve their ends", said Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali in a statement at the beginning of the Week. "The World Week of Peace should be a time of dialogue and new initiatives aimed at peaceful resolution of disputes."

In conjunction with the anniversary celebration, a pledge to balance population growth and resources, signed by 75 Heads of Government, was presented to the Secretary-General by President Soeharto of Indonesia in a ceremony at UN Headquarters on 25 October. Those signing the statement represent 3.9 billion people or 68 per cent of the world's population.

Also on 25 October, a group of world leaders met for a high-level UN Forum at Headquarters to review the status of human rights and to consider the UN human rights agenda for the next 50 years, in particular, action called for by recent conferences on human rights in Vienna and on women in Beijing.

Declaration adopted

A five-part "Declaration on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations", set out in resolution 50/6, was adopted by acclamation at the conclusion of the special commemorative session. It consists of an introduction and five sections on: peace, development, equality, justice, and the United Nations organization.

In the seven-page document, the Assembly declares: "The commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations must be seized as an opportunity to redirect it to greater service to humankind, especially to those who are suffering and are deeply deprived. This is the practical and moral challenge of our time."

It states: "We, the Member States and observers of the United Nations, representing the peoples of the world:

- "Solemnly reaffirm the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations and our commitments to them;
- "Express our gratitude to all men and women who have made the United Nations possible, done its work and served its ideals, particularly those who have given their lives during service to the United Nations;
- "Are determined that the United Nations of the future will work with renewed vigour and effectiveness in promoting peace, development, equality and justice and understanding among the peoples of the world;
- "Will give to the twenty-first century a United Nations equipped, financed and structured to serve effectively the peoples in whose name it was established."

The Declaration recognizes the important role of the UN in preventing another global conflict and calls for creating new opportunities for peace, development, democracy and cooperation.

Among its important provisions, the Declaration has world leaders pledge to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes, reaffirm the right to self-determination of all peoples, call for extraordinary measures by all countries to confront extreme poverty, reiterate the equal rights of men and women, and reaffirm that all human rights are universal and indivisible.

Development, equality, justice

The Declaration calls on the UN to address more effectively and in greater measure the need for a free and equitable international economic environment as an essential condition for international peace, security and stability.

It reaffirms that "democracy, development and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development, are interdependent and mutually reinforcing".

The Declaration urges the elimination of unsustainable patterns of production and consumption and the promotion of demographic policies to meet the needs of current generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. While national and regional particularities and historical, cultural and religious backgrounds must be borne in mind, the Declaration stresses that it is the duty of all States, "regardless of their political, economic and cultural systems, to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms".

The promotion of international law, the Declaration states, must be pursued to ensure that relations between States are based on the principles of justice and respect for the rule of law. It further states that the determination to build and maintain justice among States is in accordance with the principles of sovereign equality and territorial integrity.

UN reform highlighted

An entire section of the Declaration is devoted to how the UN works. In order to respond effectively to future challenges, the Declaration states that: the Organization must be reformed and modernized; the General Assembly should be revitalized; the Security Council expanded; and the Economic and Social Council strengthened to carry out effectively the tasks it has been assigned with respect to the well-being and standards of life of all people. In addition, it stresses that Member States must meet, in full and on time, their obligation to bear the expenses of the Organization.

UN reform was also the dominant theme of speeches during the special meeting, with many of the 129 Heads of State and Government and 71 other high-level speakers stressing the need for greater transparency, democratization and accountability in the Security Council and other UN organs. Participants also suggested that the current financing regime of the UN be restructured, and that new and innovative sources of funding be sought. Addressing the issue of peace-keeping, many world leaders called for a greater UN role in preventive diplomacy to avert the outbreak or spread of conflict.

Working for tomorrow

The United Nations "is the Organization that works for tomorrow", said Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali on 22 October, delivering the toast at a luncheon for Heads of State and Government. "The record of the past half century is clear. While others were called to deal with the problems of the present, the United Nations proved able to forecast—and address—the problems of the future."

The UN, he said, looked into the future and saw that decolonization must be a universal objective, that the poorest peoples of the world must have a voice, that the environment and economic development must be considered together if both were to be sustained, that the advancement of women was essential to human progress, and that the yearning of peoples for democracy must take place in the context of democratization of the international system itself.

"What is our vision of the second half century?", he asked. "It is a vision: of a world where conflicts will often be prevented before they must be countered by force of arms; of a world where material progress will go forward without excluding those now living on the margins of survival; of a world where human dignity and freedom can flourish, where no one is excluded by race, religion, class or gender; of a world where nature is allowed to renew itself, so that it may continue to provide for its human inhabitants."

The UN, concluded the Secretary-General, "cannot always be successful. But it will be essential. Of that there can be no doubt".

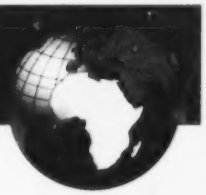
'Long Live the

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was both serious and optimistic as he addressed the leaders of the world during the special commemorative session of the UN's golden jubilee: "Your presence speaks, as you have spoken, with eloquence, of confidence in the future of the United Nations." The UN photo above, taken by Paul Skipworth for the Eastman Kodak Company, includes 190 of the 200 participants in the session's historic debate. Among those pictured are 88 Heads of State and 36 Heads of Government, as well as Vice-Presidents,

United Nations!'

deputy Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers, Permanent Representatives and heads of intergovernmental organizations. In the pages that follow are excerpts from the 200 addresses given to the General Assembly, on the occasion of the Organization's fiftieth anniversary, during six special plenary meetings of the Assembly held between 22 and 24 October. "We have listened to the wisdom of those leaders", the Secretary-General said at the end of the three-day celebration. "Together they have given the world an 'Agenda for Tomorrow'."

AFRICA



ALGERIA

President Liamine Zeroual: The fact that the United Nations has seen its membership approach universality in its 50 years of existence bears witness to the existence of a fortunate convergence between the trail that was blazed by the Charter and the course that has been followed by many of our peoples. The fact that the UN was able to foster the vast liberation movement that delivered peoples from the yoke of colonial domination, holds its rightful place among the causes of satisfaction that give today's event its full meaning. The UN has woven a fabric of cooperation that spreads the benefits of man's mastery over nature.

ANGOLA

President José Eduardo dos Santos: The journey has not been easy for our Organization. On the date of its foundation the world was just emerging from a devastating war, with a tragic balance of 50 million dead and profound trauma and destruction. Sooner or later, the difficulties facing the United Nations will require redefinition of its structures and mechanisms, particularly the Security Council. A permanent seat in the Council should be assigned to a country from each geographic region that can assume an effective role in preserving peace at the regional level.

BENIN

Désiré Vieyra, Minister of State for Coordination of Government Action: The United Nations, as it reaches the half-century mark, must commit itself with resolve to the fight against poverty. We are pleased that at the World Summit for Social Development we finally overturned a sacrosanct principle to the effect that a country's social action must be determined by its economy. We shall now base our economies on the social sphere. Today, Benin is striving, with the help of its development partners, to reduce the rate of infant and maternal mortality and to reduce illiteracy by placing particular emphasis on health and education.

BOTSWANA

President Ketumile Masire: The presence of so many world leaders in New York bears witness to the success of the United Nations during its half century of existence. For Botswana and the African continent, this is a particularly historic moment. When the Organization was born in San Francisco in 1945, only four African countries were able to adhere as independent countries to the Declaration of the United Nations. The rest of the continent was still under colonial domination. Today, the UN boasts of 53 African States among its 185 Members. The UN has served us well.

> "When the Organization was born in 1945, only four African countries were independent. Today, we are 53 States among 185 Members. The UN has served us well."
>
> —Botswana

BURKINA FASO

Ablassé Ouédraogo, Minister for Foreign Affairs: On the threshold of the 21st century, above and beyond the theory of States and of sovereignty, beyond the relationship of force, beyond the ambitions of domination, should we not substitute people, societies, nations, States? Should we not give new impetus to what was enshrined in the UN Charter in the words "We the peoples", and find again the human being and the humanity in each and every one of us and in each and every one of our acts? Only then will we progress with certainty towards a world of solidarity, progress, justice and peace.

BURUNDI

President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya: The United Nations cannot effectively assist our countries unless it adapts to the requirements of today's world. Peace in the world is still endangered by growing poverty, which is evidently the gravest threat to peace in the years to come. Moreover, the exclusion of a major portion of humankind from the most influential bodies of the UN gives the impression of a world that is frozen in time, whereas important changes have taken place over the past 50 years. We must transform and democratize international relations as a whole.

CAMEROON

President Paul Biya: Cameroon rejoices in the opportunity to take part today in the 50th anniversary ceremonies, as the United Nations played a primary role in its accession to national and international sovereignty. For us Africans, the UN is the expression of a collective will that is at the service of peace, of human dignity and solidarity among peoples. Created in the wake of one of the most harrowing conflicts in the history of mankind, in the last 50 years, the UN has made an inestimable contribution to the defence of peace. In working for disarmament and encouraging negotiations, it has taken preventive action to ward off possible future conflicts.

CAPE VERDE

President Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro: Nobody would know how to define our present world without the United Nations, taking into account not only its role in promoting and facilitating the great, imperative changes, but also its specific action in the most diverse fields of human accomplishment, both individually and collectively. The current reality requires firm leadership on the part of the UN to pre-

serve peace and security in such a way that all Member States, big and small, will focus their abilities and energy on the promotion of the well-being to which all peoples have a right.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

President Ange-Félix Patassé: Today, on the occasion of the jubilee of the UN, which is characterized by the density of its history and especially by its experiences, it is more than ever appropriate for the international community to draw the necessary lessons on which to base new hope, but especially, and above all, through which to fulfil the grand design of the UN, in the interests of our peoples. It appears unfair to certain nations that an Organization that wishes to be universal and democratic excludes other nations from its decision-making bodies. The Security Council must be expanded.

CHAD

President Idriss Deby: A half-century ago, immediately following the war, some 50 nations laid the foundations for a system of society turned resolutely towards freedom, peace, collective security, and economic and social well-being. While the world, over the years, has seen many upheavals and often-deadly conflicts that have resulted in sometimes severe criticism of our Organization, we must acknowledge that in many cases the United Nations has achieved substantial results and has spared humanity the worst of catastrophes.

COMOROS

Mouzaoir Abdallah, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation: The celebration of the 50th anniversary of the UN is a historic occasion. We pay resounding tribute to the free nations that founded the United Nations, an Organization that has become, over the years, a global political arena that is essential to the *rapprochement* of peoples. The role of the UN in decolonization, advances in international law, respect for human rights and the identification of certain major problems such as those relating to population and the environment illustrate its growing accomplishments and progress.

CONGO

Destin Arsène Tsaty-Boungou, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Francophonie: The 50th anniversary comes at a time when a black page in the history of mankind, the page of the cold war, has been turned. But the world continues to face other challenges. The same nations that were powerful 50 years ago are even more powerful today, thanks to their command of science and technology. The expectations of African peoples, who, like the other peoples of the planet, contributed to the liberation of mankind in the two major armed world confrontations, have not been fulfilled by a fitting display of solidarity on the part of the international community.

CÔTE D'IVOIRE

Prime Minister Daniel Kablan Duncan: Certain failures notwithstanding, the Organization has achieved laudable successes. We can therefore be legitimately proud of our Organization because it is the institution that has made it possible to forge general consensus on issues of global policy. It is, moreover, the only structure capable of bringing about the implementation of and respect for the great principles of law, thanks simply to the universality of its Charter. Today, the question is how to reform the United Nations. Our Organization, a mirror on the world, must, 50 years after its creation, still be able to play the role assigned to it while adapting to the changes of our times.

DJIBOUTI

Roble Olhaye, Chairman of the Delegation: Fifty years ago, a mere 51 States began the United Nations. Today, with "nation inflation", we are 185 Members. The UN must be reformed if it is to remain relevant. But it needs stable resources, reordered priorities and more relevant and representative structures. Reform must be given priority or it may soon become incapable of addressing the real global problems of disease, hunger, poverty, development, conflict, security and national breakdown. The UN is the most important vehicle we have today to forge a new international system anchored in justice and equity.

EGYPT

Amre Moussa, Minister for Foreign Affairs: Today, we are gathered together here to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the United Nations. This is a unique opportunity to assess our successes and our failures. The UN has been a source of hope, a torch bearer and an element of construction. As we move closer to the beginning of the 21st century, mankind is sitting atop a volcano that is beginning to spew its lava. Let us not waste our scientific achievements by our political misconduct. Let us build up the credibility of the international order in a manner that instills confidence amongst peoples.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo: A half century of existence means a great deal for an Organization created after sufferings caused by war, injustice, discrimination, poverty, underdevelopment and the undervaluing of the individual. The creation of the UN was an act of conscience, an intention to reform by nations which decided to stop trying to take the upper hand in order to build a new world based on friendship, understanding, freedom, justice, tolerance, cooperation and love. After 50 years, it is natural that a work

created by man should be examined to see if it continues to respond to the evolution of man and the times.

GABON

President El Hadj Omar Bongo: Some say that the UN is merely a forum in which to make speeches. Others say that it is an ineffective Organization. Conflicts persist in Rwanda, Bosnia and Herzegovina and many other areas of the world. Underdevelopment also continues to be a problem. Many of the past inadequacies were a result of East-West confrontation. Today, the UN can take credit for ensuring respect for human rights and for democratization, although we must recognize that progress could have been considerably greater.

GAMBIA

Baboucarr-Blaise I. Jagne, Minister for Foreign Affairs: The commemoration of the golden jubilee of the UN affords a unique opportunity to review past achievements and failures and to carve out a new path for our world towards a community of peoples who need each other for survival. I refer, of course, to an interdependent world, a global village, in which the achievement of socio-economic growth, peace and security in one country would depend largely on similar performance in other countries. We in the developing countries of the South need a head start, as was given to Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War through the Marshall Plan.

GHANA

President Jerry John Rawlings: In congratulating the United Nations, we are applauding ourselves. The Organization is very much us. It is the collective will of the international community of sovereign States, embodying our collective weaknesses as well. For us in Africa, particularly, the next 50 years will perhaps be even more crucial than the past 50 years. We want to see in the international community and in the UN framework a reversal of our continent's marginalization. There can be no bright future for the world, no new international order that is sustainable, without Africa.

GUINEA

Kozo Zoumanigui, Minister for Foreign Affairs: In attempting to take stock of the 50 years of our Organization's existence, I think it can be said that over this last half-century, the United Nations has proved irreplaceable, unique as a tool for dialogue, a concerted approach, negotiation and international cooperation. Through all these years, it has provided the ideal framework and laboured tirelessly not only for the maintenance of international peace and security, but also to mobilize the international community towards a solution of the problems of the world's economic and social development.

"We want to see in the UN framework a reversal of our continent's marginalization. There can be no bright future for the world without Africa."

Ghana

GUINEA-BISSAU

President João Bernardo Vieira: Today, more than ever, the UN Charter is a legal, political and moral frame of reference that cannot be side-stepped in international relations. It is imperative to proceed with reforms within the Organization. The agenda of the General Assembly must be rationalized and the Security Council should be expanded on the basis of equitable geographical distribution. Member States must forge a world organization capable of protecting future generations from the scourge of war and providing true reasons for hope.

KENYA

Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation: On this occasion, we can state with confidence that the Organization has succeeded in the prevention of a third world war; that it has drastically reduced inter-State armed conflicts; that it has made much progress in the codification of international law; that it has provided a conducive climate and means for the reconstruction of Europe; that it has almost completed the mission of decolonization; and that it has withstood the cold war. Like the founders of the United Nations, we, as today's leaders, should take full cognizance of the inseparable relationship, between peace and development.

LESOTHO

Deputy Prime Minister Bethuel Pakalitha Mosisili: As the founder of our nation, King Moshoeshoe I, put it: "Peace is like rain which makes the grass grow, while war is like the wind which dries it up." As we celebrate this historic occasion, we cannot but rejoice in the accomplishments of the United Nations in bringing the nations of the world together. Internal and international conflicts are, however, not over. We need to reflect on their causes, all of which are inimical to the UN principles. Our common resolve should be to work together to build a world devoid of them.

LIBERIA

Wilton S. Sankawulo, Chairman of the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government: If the spectre of war prevails in most of the countries that attained independence after the birth of the UN, it is due largely to the legacy of colonialism and the cold war. Colonial powers disregarded the traditional values and social needs of their subjects. The contest for spheres of influence during the cold war gave rise to autocratic regimes, which were insensitive to the aspirations of their peoples. The signing of the UN Charter 50 years ago was a significant milestone in the creation of a global arrangement for securing human liberty.

LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

Omar Mustafa Muntasser, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation: We hope that this occasion will be a starting point for an unshackled United Nations that would continue to be revitalized and committed to the service of all peoples and not just a few States that seek to use it as a means to achieve their own ends. These few should realize that the UN has not been freed from the shackles of the cold war to find itself shackled by the fetters of major Powers. They should not forget that these small countries that helped the UN attain its universality are also capable of establishing their own organization away from the domination and hegemony of a few major Powers.

MADAGASCAR

President Albert Zafy: Fifty years! We are no longer young, but neither are we old yet. This is maturity, an age replete with usefulness and reason, the result of a wealth of experience garnered over half a century. This anniversary provides us with an opportunity to take stock of the last half-century and to examine together ways and means to influence the course of the coming years to ensure that this Organization can genuinely live up to the expectations of all the peoples of the world that yearn for peace, equality, respect for human life, and peaceful technological progress.

MALAWI

President Bakili Muluzi: It would have been nice if the United Nations had performed miracles these past 50 years. It would have been nice if it succeeded in preventing human beings from wantonly slaughtering each other on a regular basis. The UN failed to perform this particular miracle. Human beings all over the world continue to kill each other for political, tribal, religious and all sorts of other reasons. The world has yet to become one big happy family. And this means that the UN still has a crucial role to play in bringing about peace, stability, freedom and justice.

MALI

Prime Minister Ibrahim Boubacar Keita: We hope to see the United Nations live up to the desire of 21st century man to live in peace and security, in social justice and human dignity. How can we fail here to recall the action the Organization has taken to advance the cause of the self-determination of peoples, to eradicate colonialism and to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination and oppression? The UN has thus opened new horizons for many countries and peoples, enabling them to cooperate and to live in brotherhood within a community of interests and fortunes that inspires each people to devote its resources and energy to development, progress and prosperity.

MAURITANIA

Mohamed Salem Ould Lekhal, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation: The theme of today's commemoration—"We the peoples of the United Nations ... united for a better world"—must be more than a slogan. May the wisdom and farsightedness of our forebears who wrote the UN Charter inspire us to adopt the conduct and attitudes that will enable us to avoid the misfortunes and disasters of war and insecurity. Mauritania reaffirms its commitment to work to advance the great ideals of our Organization, to consolidate international peace and security and to strengthen cooperation and solidarity amongst all nations for a world free of war, poverty and under development.

MAURITIUS

Prime Minister Anerood Jugnauth: The United Nations is at the crossroads. It has already been challenged by an unprecedented number of conflicts and humanitarian emergencies on an unprecedented scale throughout the world. The time is not for despair but for a renewal of efforts to rekindle the original aspirations of the UN. The UN must further the common objectives of the world community and promote the economic and social advancement of peoples in all countries, big and small, thus creating conditions for the peaceful development of all.

MOROCCO

Crown Prince Sidi Mohamed: If it is truly our desire to have mankind reap the benefits of UN activities, in particular in the areas of health, development, education and culture, we must not waste time in making the UN capable of addressing the issues that face mankind.This must be done quickly, before there appears on the international political scene another giant harbouring unipolar aspirations who would return us, God forbid, to the era of the cold war from whose consequences humanity suffered so much and from whose influence it was deeply scarred.

MOZAMBIQUE

President Joaquim Alberto Chissano: Our challenge for the next century is to further strengthen the United Nations in order to enable it to deal more efficiently and vigorously with issues related to the maintenance of international peace and security, and to promote sustainable development, human rights and fundamental freedoms. Only these can ensure a better and safer world for all. Development is the twin sister of peace. There can be no sustainable development without lasting peace, nor can there be a lasting peace without sustainable development.

NAMIBIA

President Sam Nujoma: Celebration of the birth, longevity and performance of the United Nations is proper and fitting indeed. The world has been a safer place because of the UN and its continued relevance is beyond question. After 50 years, the Organization is alive and well. Its misfortunes are exaggerated. Failures are those of the Member States and not of the UN. The 50 years of the existence of the UN have brought the peoples of the world closer together than ever before. Indeed, today's world is truly a global village.

NIGER

President Mahamane Ousmane: Whatever its detractors may say, and despite the many obstacles that impede its functioning, we must acknowledge that the United Nations has been at the root of striking qualitative changes on the international scene. It has been at the centre of the accession to independence of many hundreds of millions of people. In the sphere of peacekeeping, it has somehow managed to prevent the repetition of conflicts just as devastating and deadly as the war that brought it into being. It continues to be the best framework for multidirectional thought and action towards a common approach to the ills that beset mankind.

NIGERIA

Tom Ikimi, Minister for Foreign Affairs: The theme of war and peace has confronted the UN since its inception. Indeed, the founding fathers of the world body expressed their determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which ... has brought untold sorrow to mankind". Regrettably, these wars are proliferating mostly in the developing countries and have resulted in mindless human and material waste, destruction and dislocation of social structures, tidal waves of refugees and displacement of populations.

RWANDA

President Pasteur Bizimungu: Mechanisms should be worked out so that the UN can deliver on expectations. In particular, the Security Council must be reformed to make it more representative. The future of our Organization, our future, requires us to strive for unconditional solidarity and more dynamic cooperation. Mankind should never again witness the horrors of genocide that took place in Rwanda, and the current ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia must be brought to an end. We count on the UN to direct and support our efforts to create a better world for humanity.

SENEGAL

Prime Minister Habib Thiam: Our presence bears witness to our renewed adherence to UN ideals and our faith in its unique mission of peace and cooperation, solidarity and progress. International peace and security, economic and social development, humanitarian aid and promotion of the rule of law continue to be permanent objectives which the UN has always been striving to achieve in the constant struggle for freedom. Indeed, the UN has not only persisted in this far-reaching enterprise, it has also inspired a great number of major positive transformations with a view to finding solutions to the problems facing our human race.

SIERRA LEONE

Valentine E.M. Strasser, Head of State: The dreams of those delegates in San Francisco are still shared by every single delegate here in New York. The world has changed; giant nations no longer confront each other with deadly weapons; the Iron Curtain has given way to closer cooperation; the threat of nuclear annihilation has receded. Giant economic blocs are emerging; one-time arch enemies are now close allies. The resolution of ancient and emerging new conflicts and provision of humanitarian aid to the millions of hungry and dying peoples of the world are problems that the UN has grappled with. These are remarkable achievements.

> "We meet to affirm our commitment to the founding ideal and the common desire to better the life of all human beings."
>
> —South Africa

SOUTH AFRICA

President Nelson R. Mandela: When distinguished leaders came together, half a century ago, to consign to the past a war that had pitted humanity against itself, the ruins and the smoke from the dying fires were the monument to what should not have been. Fifty years after the formation of the United Nations, we meet to affirm our commitment to the founding ideal and the common desire to better the life of all human beings. What challenges us, who define ourselves as "states-persons", is the clarion call to dare to think that what we are about is people—the proverbial man and woman in the street. These—the poor, the hungry, the victims of petty tyrants, the objectives of policy—demand change.

SWAZILAND

King Mswati III, Head of State: I believe the United Nations' founding fathers would have recognized their own goals in those of my generation. They are, after all, what every human being has a right to expect—good health, shelter, security for one's family, freedom to pursue the ideas and beliefs of choice, to be educated and employed and, above all, to be able to live in peace. In the year 2045, I wish to be able to stand and meet the gaze of my children, and my grandchildren, and say, "We did our best".

TOGO

Dahuki Péré, President of the National Assembly: A rapid survey of UN activities over the last 50 years shows that while it has allowed the world to escape a world war of a scope comparable to the last two wars, the effects of which traumatized humanity, our Organization has not fulfilled our hopes—either in the area of peace-keeping or in the area of economic and social development. Despite enormous means invested in safeguarding and restoring regional and international peace, this goal is far from being achieved. UN capabilities in the area of preventive diplomacy and the peaceful settlement of disputes should be strengthened.

TUNISIA

Al-Habib ben Yahia, Minister for Foreign Affairs: The United Nations has done a great deal in the service of peace since its establishment in the difficult times that followed in the wake of World War II. It has saved humanity from destruction and contributed to the emergence of the national liberation movement in various parts of the world. It has championed the advocates of fraternity and equality against the forces of injustice and every form of discrimination. Notwithstanding the difficulties that faced it, the UN has shown itself to be the very embodiment of human wisdom.

UGANDA

President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni: The Organization has in the last 50 years played a role in maintaining peace in the world and we salute its contribution. To properly utilize the United Nations in future, we should clearly define the circumstances under which it should assist the forces of legitimacy and democracy. Most cases which confront the UN are explosions that follow a prolonged period of the disenfranchisement of the people. The best way for the UN to handle such explosions is to seek to restore and support legitimacy.

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Daudi N. Mwakawago, Chairman of the Delegation: As we meet today, we look back on 50 years of illustrious history. But our main objective is to focus on the future. The Organization needs revitalization. One area is to democratize its structures, especially the Security Council, to reflect current realities. Equitable geographical representation should be the centrepiece of reforms. A second area of concern is development. The scourge of poverty and environmental degradation is the new war facing the UN. It cannot be wished away or left to the developing countries to fight. It requires the solidarity of the international community through the leadership of the UN.

> "For us Africans, the United Nations is first and foremost a synonym of re-found dignity and freedom."

ZAIRE

President Maréchal Mobutu Sese Seko: For us Africans, the United Nations is first and foremost a synonym of re-found dignity and freedom. The UN flag represents the universal emblem of the decolonization of the States of our continent. Indeed, members will recall that when the UN Charter was signed in San Francisco, only a few African countries were among the first 51 States to be admitted. From 1960 to 1990, that is, from the first proclamations of independence to the independence of Namibia, all the other African States have progressively won their seat within the UN.

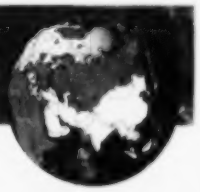
ZAMBIA

President Frederick J.T. Chiluba: In a world of growing tensions and challenges, the UN has performed well since its inception and deserves a word of appreciation and thanks. The structures of 1945, meant to service an almost homogeneous membership of 50 countries that has since increased almost fourfold, are no longer capable of servicing the bigger and wider globe. Membership has increased in numbers as well as in regional diversity. A restructured and more representative UN will be better equipped to respond to growing demands which have become multifarious in character.

ZIMBABWE

President Robert G. Mugabe: For us in Africa, the contribution of the United Nations in the decolonization and democratization processes has been an outstanding and honourable one, with the result that today southern Africa, once described by a Portuguese seafarer as a "region of storms", has finally and truly become a region of good hope where the oppressive settler regimes, apartheid and other ruthless systems of governance have succumbed to the revolutionary will of the majority, paving the way to peace, stability and regional cooperation.

ASIA & THE PACIFIC



AFGHANISTAN

Najibullah Lafraie, Minister for Foreign Affairs: Each and every document of the UN talks about respecting the right to life, liberty and security, as well as the will of the nations. During this special commemorative meeting, world leaders have also presented speeches about the future of the world and ways and means of implementing the provisions of the UN Charter, which would remain merely beautiful expressions unless translated into practice. Let us not forget, however, that at this very moment millions of human beings go on living in poverty, hunger and deprivation.

BAHRAIN

Shaikh Mohamed Bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa, Minister for Foreign Affairs: The future of the United Nations depends, now more than ever, on the extent of its ability to influence events and to mould the future, especially in an era of accelerating change and development, influenced by the dramatic communications revolution in the world. If the UN is to carry out its task of peacemaking and ensuring justice, it behooves us, peoples and Governments alike, to present the 21st century with a UN capable of promoting the causes of justice, development and equality for all.

BANGLADESH

Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia: If we look around the world today at the numerous conflicts, big and small, at aggression perpetrated against small States, at genocidal conflicts and ethnic cleansing, and denial of the right of lower riparian countries to water of common rivers, there are many who may question the justification of this world body. Despite these drawbacks, mankind has not been able to evolve a more effective forum. The 50th anniversary offers the ideal opportunity to review its achievements and to look forward to a strengthened and reinvigorated United Nations.

> "We look forward to a strengthened and reinvigorated United Nations."
>
> —Bangladesh

BHUTAN

Dawa Tsering, Minister for Foreign Affairs: The United Nations means different things to different nations around the globe. It is only natural that we should view the world through our own perspective, influenced by our historical experience, geographical setting, traditions and value system. For a small nation like Bhutan, membership of the UN enables us to participate in shaping the international agenda on numerous issues that are of importance to our people. We benefit from the activities of the UN family of organizations, whose assistance has made a real difference in the everyday lives of our people.

BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah: The United Nations is still the best Organization to uphold a world order based on international law and the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity. Interdependence between nations has increased, but has not displaced the sovereignty of nations as the basic principle in international relations. The UN gives all Members, big and small, an equal voice. The UN must change to meet new challenges, but I hope it will continue to give small nations an adequate voice in its deliberations.

CAMBODIA

First Prime Minister Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Ranariddh: The United Nations contribution to world peace has been unique. Through its specialist bodies, it has provided both emergency assistance to people around the world in urgent need and development assistance to help raise the standard of living of millions of people. We salute the staff of these UN organizations and thank them for their noble endeavours. We, Cambodians, are particularly indebted to the Organization for helping our country and people to regain their freedom and independence. Cambodians will never forget the assistance provided to our country by the UN.

CHINA

President Jiang Zemin: Over the past 50 years, the United Nations has done much useful work in mitigating regional conflicts, eradicating colonialism, expediting arms reduction and promoting peace and development in the world. However, it also has its failures and setbacks. The rivalry of certain big Powers has often left the UN in limbo. Moreover, the rights and interests of the large number of developing countries have not been fully respected. Our experience and lessons over the past half century, the Charter's purposes and principles, and epochal themes of peace and development have all placed solemn and urgent demands on us.

CYPRUS

President Glafcos Clerides: The UN Charter, a great human achievement, embodying the wisdom and vision of its drafters to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, constitutes the legal and moral foundation in international relations, and is as valid and relevant today as ever. What is really needed is to reduce the gap between principle and practice created by the failure to apply objec-

tively and universally the Charter provisions, thus causing insecurity, frustration and bitterness. The authority of the Organization must be upheld against those who flout international opinion.

FIJI

Prime Minister Sitiveni Ligamamada Rabuka: The norms of the powerful have in the past been imposed to disinherit indigenous people, and to this day in some places, to deny them the political self-determination essential for their social and economic advancement. The United Nations must guarantee that external values and forces do not continue to coerce political concessions, economic reforms and social changes not desired by indigenous peoples themselves. Not all the wrongs that history has wrought upon indigenous peoples can now be put right. The UN should not hesitate to ensure for these that remedy is expeditious.

INDIA

Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao: The United Nations today includes a much larger number of independent, sovereign States than when it began. In such a context, the UN cannot afford to be seen as either exclusivist or incomplete, either in appearance or in outlook. In particular, an adequate presence of developing countries is needed in the Security Council on the basis of objective criteria: nations of the world must feel that their stakes in global peace and prosperity are factored into the UN decision-making. At the 50th anniversary, we thus have the task of making the UN truly and effectively the global repository of humankind's aspirations.

INDONESIA

President Soeharto: In these troubled times, we, the Governments and peoples of the world, look up to the United Nations for the sustenance of our hopes. There is no question that we need the UN. What we often forget is that the UN needs us too. We applaud its triumphs, but we often forget that its failures are ours too. Its responsibility is our responsibility. It is our hope that during the next 50 years strides can be made in achieving better harmony between the national self-interest and the legitimate rights of the less empowered people of the world.

IRAN

Ali Akbar Velayati, Minister for Foreign Affairs: The UN gains its strength from its universal character, which is even more impressive in light of the diversity of its constituent elements. Faith in and, thus protection of, fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person, and equal rights of men and women cannot be divorced from respect for equality of nations, large and small. There can therefore be no justification for any attempt to impose the will or values of a few over the rest of humanity, or to enhance the perception of security of the privileged few at the expense of subjecting the rest of humanity to the nightmare of nuclear holocaust.

IRAQ

Vice-President Taha M. Marouf: With the end of the cold war, all the grandiose hopes for a new era of peace have given way to an emergent unipolarism, with many armed conflicts, on both the international and the domestic levels. Within the UN, it has spawned types of behaviour characterized by selectivity, double standards and putting the UN mechanisms at the service of narrow self-interest. Now that we can diagnose the ailment, we have to be quick with the remedy. We should begin by activating the democratic process in the work of the UN.

ISRAEL

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin: In the past 50 years, this podium has seen empires fall and borders erased. But it has also seen people awaken to their freedom and the nations of the world display their flags side by side. We are grateful to the international community for its encouragement at this historic moment which is unfolding on our little plot of land. The road is still long. However, we are determined to continue until we have brought peace to the region, for our children and our children's children and for all the peoples of the region. This is our mission. We will fulfil it. Israel celebrates here with everyone—with all those attending here and with the entire world—50 years of the United Nations.

JAPAN

Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama: We have only five years left to the 21st century. Humankind has reached the stage at which we should all join hands and advance together so that the coming century will be one of hope, in which we can look forward to the creation and development of a new global civilization. On this occasion, I should like to reaffirm the determination that the people of Japan made 50 years ago to live in peace, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. As the exploration of a new vision for the United Nations continues, Japan will enhance its support for the Organization.

JORDAN

King Hussein Ibn Talal: I may not be the eldest head of State among you, but God has willed that I should be the longest serving, and the one who has dealt with the United Nations for the longest period. I recall at an early age, witnessing the endeavours of men like Trygve Lie, Count Bernadotte, Ralph Bunche, Dag Hammarskjold, and Gunnar Jarring and many others who have served the cause of peace and stability in our region. We acknowledge our debt to the men and women of the UN who have worked over the years

to preserve peace in our region and feel proud to have contributed to serve the same lofty ideals in other regions.

KAZAKHSTAN

President Nursultan Nazarbaev: No international structure on the eve of the 21st century will be capable of effectively resolving the issues of global security and social and political development without taking into consideration the new global balances. Today, we should be grateful to the United Nations for its effective endeavours, which have helped us all to avert potential global disasters in the second half of the 20th century. This is an undoubted accomplishment of the UN and its principal bodies and structures.

KUWAIT

Sheik Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Amir of the State: Global confidence in the United Nations system has been on the rise since it has become a beacon of hope for alleviating and redressing the human suffering caused by aggression and oppression in all their forms and manifestations. We trust that the Organization will become even more effective in confronting mankind's global problems in the coming century. Such a contribution would indeed consolidate the lofty human values of benevolence, cooperation and interdependence for the common benefit of all human beings who yearn for a peaceful and dignified life.

KYRGYZ REPUBLIC

Mukar Cholponbayev, Chairman of the Legislative Chamber: As representatives of an ancient people but a young nation, and reflecting on our own history and the half-century of efforts to create a new code of international cooperation, we express profound gratitude to the founding fathers of the UN. The world community has been successful in interrupting the tragic cycle of world wars. Today, our discussions cover not the problems of global war, but rather global development. The UN is a living body and it is needed by all of us. Let us then join efforts to make it more effective and more responsive to contemporary challenges.

LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Deputy Prime Minister Khamphoui Keoboualapha: During the last five decades, our universal Organization has been sorely tried in many conflicts and upheavals in various parts of the world. Despite the difficulties encountered, the United Nations has survived and strengthened its role in solving world problems. While we welcome what has been achieved, we cannot but confirm the fact that today's world is entering a new era—an era of cooperation for development. Yet the world is still without true peace. The realities of the world today show us that true peace cannot prevail until the imperatives of socio-economic development have been adequately addressed.

LEBANON

Bahige Tabbarah, Minister of Justice: The UN is not only a unique forum where Members can have their voices heard, and their complaints addressed. It is primarily the international institution that provides assistance and support to the developing countries so that they, in turn, can build their economies and their societies, and gradually bridge the gap between the industrial and the developing countries. World peace and understanding and respect for human rights cannot be permanent unless the economic gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world is bridged.

> "Despite difficulties encountered, the United Nations has survived and strengthened its role in solving world problems"
>
> —Lao People's Democratic Republic

MALAYSIA

Datuk Abdullah bin Hadji Ahmad Badawi, Minister for Foreign Affairs: We strongly believe that the UN should be the body to promote globalism and pluralism. It must stand clearly on the side of universal values in combating genocide and aggression. Peace and security cannot be built on arms reduction alone. Development focused on eradication of poverty and the removal of bottlenecks towards global prosperity must remain a UN priority. The UN should not become an instrument for disciplining developing countries, while allowing for power politics and global domination by a few powerful countries.

MALDIVES

President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom: Fifty years ago, the UN was created to serve all peoples—rich and poor alike; big and small on an equal footing—based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members. My question is this: has the UN been successful in the even-handed application of this principle and in ensuring the protection and security of small States? Today, the world needs an organization that will aim at a world of shared economic prosperity and national security and one in which communities can live in harmony with one another and with the environment.

MARSHALL ISLANDS

President Amata Kabua: Today is an occasion to celebrate half a century of the existence of the United Nations and its accomplishments, and also to reflect over how, collectively, we may better chart our path and more clearly articulate our goals for the next 50 years or so.The current political landscape is vastly different from that of 50 years ago. This requires the UN critically to examine its performance and structures in search of practical solutions. It is imperative that those elements which are antiquated, and no longer minister to the

needs of a continually changing humanity, be swept away and relegated to the currents of history.

FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA

President Bailey Olter: The accomplishments of the UN as a forum for advancing world peace and security cannot be minimized. But this Organization has an even greater mission. As populations grow and make increasing demands on the planet's limited resources, even the most richly endowed must come to understand the great, futuristic vision of the Charter. It wisely calls upon peoples and Governments, large and small, rich and poor, to incorporate in their policies and actions true respect for the rights of all, including the least privileged, to live in conditions of decency and equality.

MONGOLIA

President Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat: The UN having risen from the ashes of the most devastating war in the history of mankind, is today celebrating its golden anniversary with a renewed sense of purpose and confidence in the future. From a distance of 50 years, one could reasonably argue that there were no victors nor vanquished, and that the sole winner was the entire human race. But the 50 million who perished in the war will always be a stark reminder of the imperative still fundamental today—to persevere in our collective efforts to achieve peace, progress and social justice.

MYANMAR

Maung Aye, Vice Chairman of the State Law and Order Restoration Council: The international community has changed considerably in the past 50 years; yet the UN Charter framed in June 1945 continues to be valid. Its principles—the equality of sovereign States, territorial integrity, the political independence of States and the peaceful resolution of conflicts—must remain inviolate and be faithfully observed in international relations. Erosion of these fundamental principles will undermine the aims and purposes of the Organization. Any attempt to weaken the time-honoured and universally accepted principles of sovereignty would be cause for serious concern.

NEPAL

Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba: The spectre of a global nuclear catastrophe which has haunted humanity since 1945 is less threatening now with the end of the cold war. The Organization's functional approach to peace has provided economic relief to the less privileged regions of the world and restored human dignity to the neglected segments of our global society. While we are currently caught in a dilemma between our efforts to forge a new world order and face the reality of a global disorder, there is a strong need to reinforce some of its mechanisms to cope with the demanding times.

OMAN

Fahad Bin Mahmoud Al Said, Deputy Prime Minister for Council of Ministers: The past epoch of United Nations history has been a period of many a positive achievement, thanks to the effectiveness of multilateral action. The fact that the UN has been able to surmount the many great difficulties that stood in its path attests to the success of the Organization and its Member States. However, the achievement of peace, security, economic prosperity and social well-being on a basis of equality and justice will not be possible unless we strengthen our collective efforts and give priority to development plans on the individual and the collective levels.

PAKISTAN

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto: Fifty years ago this day, men and women of vision assembled to create an Organization to save the world from war. For 50 years, there has been no global conflict. We applaud the United Nations humanitarian and peace-keeping interventions, to which the brave sons of Pakistan have contributed with their own blood. We welcome the UN efforts to emphasize social issues, including population, social development, women and human settlements. Let us remember the words of the philosopher Spinoza, who said: "Peace is not merely the absence of war. It is a virtue that springs from force of character."

PALAU

President Kuniwo Nakamura: The UN represents the most ambitious and noble attempt humankind has ever made to craft a lens with which to transcend self-interest as individuals and as nations. With such a lens, we are able to consider issues from the vantage point of the representatives of our close-knit global family who will come here to the United Nations 50 and 100 years from now to celebrate future anniversaries of this magnificent institution. When my ancestors sailed from Southeast Asia to Palau, they needed courage, knowledge and wisdom. As nations, we too will need all of these qualities in the coming years.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Ben Micah, Special Envoy of the Prime Minister: The end of the cold war provides a rare opportunity to the international community to divert its energies and resources towards positive development directed at meeting the basic needs of our people and, thereby, ensuring long-term peace and stability. The UN no doubt remains the only global entity capable of shaping international consensus in order to instil confidence and facilitate international development cooperation. Papua New Guinea stands to salute the achievements of the UN, and will continue to support the noble cause and objectives of the Organization.

PHILIPPINES

President Fidel V. Ramos: In five turbulent decades we have seen the decolonization of virtually the whole world, the rise of human rights to the forefront of world concerns, the engagement of our world community in reform for the welfare of children, women, minorities and the environment, and, most of all, the work of re-engineering development in the poor regions of the world. Now we must ensure that this Organization is adequate to meet the challenges of a new era. Let us remember that the United Nations was created—as the Charter says—"to promote better standards of life in larger freedom" all over the world.

QATAR

Deputy Prime Minister Sheikh Abdulla bin Khalifa Al Thani: We ardently hope to see the birth of a new United Nations, which can firmly and effectively face up to the challenges of wars, internal conflicts, ethnic intolerance and other hurdles which hold back mankind's progress. This can happen only if the Organization can do more than set up machinery to deal with conflicts after they erupt. Preventive measures should be taken to forestall such conflagrations through the development of societies, economically and socially, and combating poverty, sickness and all the other causes of underdevelopment.

REPUBLIC OF KOREA

President Kim Young Sam: The dreams of the founders of the United Nations of a better world have already changed our planet tremendously. Riding the crest of the information age and globalization, not only is the international order undergoing an epochal change, but human civilization itself is being radically transformed. Change and reform in the UN are necessary if the Organization is to create and maintain the new world order. The UN has to be democratized and made more efficient; and every region of the world must be more equitably represented on the Security Council.

SAMOA

Tuiloma Neroni Slade, Chairman of the Delegation: My own country, like so many in this Hall, came to independence through the process of decolonization made possible only through the central role played by the United Nations. That process was a historic achievement. We now have an Organization structured by a few, half-a-century ago, that has to respond to the needs of many more, and to a world which is fundamentally different and which continues to change. It needs to be reformed and assured of the financial resources it needs. Membership of the Security Council must be enlarged to reflect the realities of the present time and to enhance its effectiveness and legitimacy.

SAUDI ARABIA

Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, Second Deputy Prime Minister: The capabilities the UN has demonstrated over the past 50 years makes us determined to continue to support it. If the yardstick of its success lies in its effectiveness in serving the cause of international peace and security, we must underscore the importance of abiding by its Charter, and enforcing its resolutions. It is the hope of The Custodian of The Two Holy Mosques that our celebration today will make a watershed in the history of our Organization to enable it to achieve its goals and make it possible for all peoples of the world to live in security and achieve continued progress.

SINGAPORE

Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong: The United Nations has been criticized, even maligned. Some of the criticisms are valid, but many of them are unfair. Let us not forget that the UN has contributed to a better world, despite its shortcomings and failures in several areas. The UN may not necessarily be the prime mover in many world events, given the increasing strength of regional and multilateral bodies. But it has a very important integrative function: that of maintaining global coherence and ensuring that no country is excluded in the march towards security, peace and prosperity.

"As the founders of this Organization understood, our problems are ultimately moral and spiritual in nature. Therefore, the very work of diplomacy can be successful only in an atmosphere of tolerance."

—Solomon Islands

SOLOMON ISLANDS

Deputy Prime Minister Danny Philip: In the course of the last five decades, the United Nations did much to expand and strengthen the community of nations. In the Pacific, for example, the UN has been a critical factor in the emergence of independent States. The recent international recognition of the vulnerability of small island developing States to adverse economic conditions, as well as to natural and environmental disasters, is a significant example of the family of nations building mutual trust, support and respect. As the founders of this Organization understood, our problems are ultimately moral and spiritual in nature. Therefore, the very work of diplomacy can be successful only in an atmosphere of tolerance.

SRI LANKA

President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga: The effective strengthening of the United Nations system is an essential requisite for advancing its goals. The Organization has regrettably sometimes come to be seen by the more vulnerable States as primarily serving the interests of the more powerful States. The revitalizing process must enhance the capacity of the UN, rather than merely effect economies and scale down its scope. In the end, the UN will essentially be what we, the Member States, make of it—not what individual States seek to make from it.

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

Farouk Al Shara', Minister for Foreign Affairs: A unanimity has crystallized among States of the world on the need to reform the UN, to render it more efficient for present and future challenges. The improvement in UN performance and the democratization of decision-making within it cannot be attained if stronger and richer States impose their selfish interests at the expense of the overwhelming majority of the world's countries. It is the tendency to do just that which lies at the source of genuine concern that has been generated by certain recent practices and experiences.

TAJIKISTAN

President Emomali Rakhmonov: Designed to help States resolve disputes in a peaceful manner, the UN today faces a new challenge: to make wider use of preventive diplomacy. The peacemaking potential of the UN can be coupled with its cooperation with regional organizations, primarily in deterring, confining and settling armed conflicts and in countering terrorism and radical manifestations of fundamentalism of various kinds. The best prospects for defending our national interests lie in cooperation with the UN, the OSCE, and other international organizations.

THAILAND

Prime Minister Banharn Silpa-Archa: In this day and age, where uncertainty lurks at every turn, and where sustainable development poses a challenge, the United Nations is more important than ever. Its role in South-East Asia has shown that, with the right kind of support, it is indeed capable of promoting "happiness in tranquility". We should see to it that the Organization concentrates on the things which only it can do, or which it can do better than any other international body: to stop people from killing each other, to get people to treat each other fairly, and to help people live in an environment of their own choosing.

TURKMENISTAN

President Saparmurat Niyazov: The 20th century ideological confrontation between blocs is gone, and mankind must choose which way to go. We stand together with those who believe in the philosophy of uniting the world while re-cognizing existing differences. We stand together with those who recognize the primacy of the United Nations in divising programmes of civilized partnership free from diktat and the imposition of ideas and ways of life. The new non-polar world is a community of equal partners. There should be no elite countries with special powers and prerogatives that rightfully belong to the entire world community.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Deputy Prime Minister Sheikh Sultan bin Zayed Al-Nahayan: Our participation in these celebrations clearly reflects our firm belief in the important and historic role of the United Nations in the establishment of a new era of international relations and in strengthening peace and security, especially in the Arab region, a region that has been ravaged, over the past few decades, by numerous wars and conflicts that have consumed its material and human energy and resources. The UN should perform a larger role in addressing those problems and in realizing the hopes and aspirations of the region's peoples.

UZBEKISTAN

President Islam A. Karimov: Today, the newly independent States on the post-Soviet space are in the process of laying the foundations of their national statehood and advancing towards democratic reforms for which they need support from the world community to expedite their integration into international structures. The consistency and irreversibility of reforms, democratization and a free market economy must be maintained. This will enable us to secure the place we deserve in the world community.

VANUATU

Prime Minister Maxime Carlot Korman: At a time when we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the United Nations and, in particular, the development programmes adopted and applied for the benefit of Member States, and the means established to guarantee international peace and security, it is our duty to do more to help the Organization face the new challenges of the 21st century. Vanuatu assures the Secretary-General of its support for initiatives for reform. Let us respect peoples and guarantee life in the regions of our world. Let us effectively protect the environment in our respective regions. Let us together build a more pacific world.

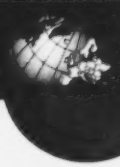
VIET NAM

President Le Duc Anh: Over the past 50 years, the growth of the UN has been closely linked with the struggle of peoples for the right to self-determination and for UN Charter principles. Paradoxically, just when mankind has acquired the technology to reduce the distance between the Earth and other celestial bodies, the gap between the rich and the poor has widened alarmingly. Everyday, we witness the human tragedy of countless innocent people—victims of wars, conflicts, economic embargoes and epidemics. The international community should do its utmost to ensure the enjoyment of fundamental rights to a life in peace.

YEMEN

Vice-President Abdourabou Mansour Hadi: Despite the challenges and difficulties facing the Organization as it discharges its functions and reaffirms its character, the last five decades have yielded important historic achievements, which have helped us to arrive at forming a collective future vision. Its greatest achievement is, perhaps, that it has spared mankind the horrors of a third world war. The Organization has also contributed to the liberation of nations, the raising of mankind's standard of living and the affirmation of the human right to a free and dignified life.

Eastern EUROPE



ALBANIA

President Sali Berisha: The fall of the Iron Curtain—on which the United Nations had a positive influence—averted the threat of a large scale confrontation and ushered in a period of difficult transition for the countries of Eastern Europe. In this process, international institutions turned out to be not always interlocking, but interblocking. The international community, heading into the 21st century, is growing ever more aware of the need to redirect its advance towards a more reliable international order for everybody. The UN and its agencies can render a new contribution to this trend, to the benefit of present history.

ARMENIA

President Levon Ter-Petrossian: In view of the situation in 1945, it was only natural that the Charter of the UN should deal primarily with the maintenance of international peace and security. The UN played a pivotal role in the reconstruction that followed the devastation of the world war, and it has so far been able to prevent the world being plunged into global conflict. Even during the cold war, the very existence of an international forum in which countries might discuss global issues prevented the outbreak of many conflicts.

AZERBAIJAN

President Heydar Alirza ogly Aliyev: Great positive changes have occurred since the establishment of the United Nations involving the complete rebuilding of the world and practical implementation of the UN Charter. It was possible to avoid a new world war. Colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination have become history. Confirmation of common human values, ideas of freedom, democracy and human rights has become widely expanded. The UN has played a special role. But problems involving international terrorism, weapons proliferation, hunger, poverty and environmental disasters require radical solutions.

BELARUS

President Alyaksandr Lukashenka: The United Nations would do well today to think not so much about what has been done as about what still remains to be done. Unfortunately, on the threshold of the third millennium, the world is still burdened by many problems characteristic of the past: wars; armed conflicts in various regions; terrorism and other types of crime; environmental disasters; poverty; and hunger. Many other things threaten the future of mankind. The UN alone, this universal Organization, which reflects the interests of all peoples of the Earth, can unite the efforts of the community of nations in resolving these problems.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

President Alija Izetbegovic: The United Nations, whose anniversary we celebrate today, has always been a source of our hope, but also a constant cause of our disappointment. Some say that it is the largest, but, on occasion, the most inefficient body in human history. The number of unimplemented resolutions is a proof of this. Being as it is, our Organization probably reflects the imperfections of our world. If the continuous improvement of the world is not work in vain, the further improvement of the UN is not only possible but very necessary. The supreme goal is the maintenance of peace.

BULGARIA

President Zhelyu Zhelev: Without the principles laid down in the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1989 "velvet" revolutions in Eastern Europe would hardly have been able to sweep away the totalitarian regimes equipped, as they were, with the powerful tools of demagogy, propaganda and terror. The two documents proclaimed, once and for all, the universal validity of fundamental human rights. They held out the promise of social progress and a higher standard of living through individual freedom and free enterprise. Our historical experience has taught us that unity is strength.

> "The UN must be a garden of ideas related to general human values, international solidarity and an equitable international order."
>
> Croatia

CROATIA

President Franjo Tudjman: So much power has convened today under the roof of the General Assembly Hall, and yet, so little power to provide the necessary solutions for a better common future. We are faced with a long and arduous road, but we can look back with pride on the 50 years of our common history. The UN must also be a garden of ideas related to general human values, international solidarity and an equitable international order. Our responsibility for narrowing the gap in economic development and for promoting coordinated development of all parts of our planet is equal to our responsibility for global peace.

CZECH REPUBLIC

President Václav Havel: In my vision, the UN of the future would become more clearly an instrument serving all inhabitants of our planet, an instrument for pursuing their good life together. The point is not to expropriate any part of their internal identification with their own country, their people, their religious or cultural roots.

The point is to forge a world in which everyone could be himself without being menaced by another. The form of a 21st century UN could be shaped precisely by this spirit, by this sense of responsibility.

ESTONIA

President Lennart Meri: We, the small nations, are easily wounded; thus we are more sensitive. Because we are more sensitive, we are able to react more quickly. Because we are able to react more quickly, we are consequently more idealistic. Small States are more idealistic, so it follows that a more active hope and a desire to remain true to our principles lives in our midst. It was this hope, it was this dedication to principles upon which, under the circumstances, this Organization was founded 50 years ago.

GEORGIA

Alexander Chikvaidze, Minister for Foreign Affairs: We believe that the new philosophy of the United Nations must give priority to the strategy of "making" peace over "keeping" peace. The UN is obliged to break with neutrality in favour of mandatory implementation of Charter principles with regard to those who break the peace. There is also a need for a new method of decision-making, focusing on implementation, rather than be excessively preoccupied with procedure and self-serving adjustable wording. We must have the courage and the will to call an aggressor an aggressor, and genocide, genocide.

HUNGARY

President Árpád Göncz: We should not forget that the strengths and weaknesses or the accomplishments and failures of the Organization are our common responsibility. In this respect, the vision of the founding fathers "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" remains to be pursued vigorously for all of us. For so many in the world, the United Nations is a beacon of hope and help. We, ourselves, felt this when in 1956 Hungarians in our revolution and national freedom fight, including myself, took courage from the distant but clear voice of solidarity coming from this very Hall. We remain deeply grateful for that.

LATVIA

President Guntis Ulmanis: Much has been achieved during the existence of the UN. Peace and reconciliation have been made possible through preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping under UN auspices. Humanitarian assistance has been brought to crisis points around the world, ensuring survival and shelter for millions of people. The Organization has been a forum in which initiatives vitally important for humanity have been launched. The end of the cold war has given us an opportunity to fulfil the vision of the founders of the UN: the creation of a global order in which the principles of the Charter are respected and its purposes achieved.

LITHUANIA

President Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas: Fifty years of United Nations work have been crowned with tangible and laudable achievements. Most importantly, the number of democratic States has increased dramatically over those years. The global nuclear threat has decreased. Yet, the thread of life remains vulnerable. We have no other choice but to live together, seeking to better understand one another and to cooperate more closely. That is the basis of my optimism and faith in man, as well as in the future.

POLAND

Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy: The world needs devoted leadership, commitment and far-sighted vision as much as it needs oxygen. It needs perseverance in the promotion of trust between States and their organizations. If we, the United Nations—united not, as 50 years ago, against someone, but driven by the desire for peaceful cooperation—show sufficient determination to give effect to our own proposals, the world stands a chance of ensuring a better and safer life in the 21st century. It stands a chance of ensuring lasting peace and sustained development for all, and ensuring respect for the rights of the citizens of this globe.

REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

President Mircea Ion Snegur: The important international event that has brought us together has a profound historical significance. Shaken by the horrors of the Second World War and guided by the firm conviction that such apocalyptic cataclysms should never happen again, the free nations and their spiritual leaders laid the foundation of the United Nations 50 years ago. From this perspective, the first words of the Charter—"We the peoples of the United Nations"—are a natural expression of the world community's feeling of shared responsibility for the destiny of humankind.

ROMANIA

President Ion Iliescu: Our most important duty now, on the 50th anniversary of the United Nations, is to make the chance of a new beginning come to fruition. Released from the fetters of bipolarity and of the cold war, the international system has regained its natural freedom of movement. Instead of ending, history is in fact starting again! We have the chance of a new beginning! The UN has a very full agenda for the 21st century! What we can do, even as of today, is to review its functional structures, mechanisms and architecture in order to render them capable of addressing those issues.

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

President Boris N. Yeltsin: Half a century ago, an event occurred that paved the way to a new period in the history of mankind. Divided and bleeding, the world understood that its future was the path of mutual understanding and interaction. Only the United Nations will be able to realize the perennial dream of a world without wars and violence; of a world where controversial issues are settled through negotiation. While having won the world war, we have not yet managed to win peace. Today, the world more than ever before needs not only equality and tolerance, but also respect for the identity of each State.

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

President Michal Kovác: The United Nations is a living organism; it enjoys periods of success, but is aware of its weaknesses as well. On the one hand, we can appreciate the past and present role of the Organization in resolving issues related to peace and security. On the other, social issues, as well as the process of strengthening democracy and protecting human rights, will require a more sensitive and more effective approach in the future. We are currently witnessing growth in the UN role in the field of economic and social development, where a certain disproportion exists.

SLOVENIA

President Milan Kucan: The United Nations has undoubtedly justified its establishment in its 50 years of existence. However, the goals defined in the UN Charter have not yet been realized. On the contrary, in the key area of its activity, the maintenance of international peace and security, the UN is burdened by an alarming lack of success. The genuine effectiveness of the UN in the maintenance of international peace and security is of crucial importance for the future of the Organization.

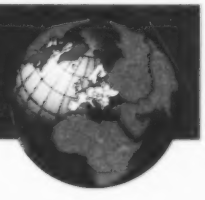
THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Acting President Stojan Andov: The UN Charter has survived the test of the past five decades and continues to be the basic framework on which world peace, security, cooperation, and economic and social development can successfully be built. In the past five decades, the world has changed substantially. The reforms we envisage are aimed at increasing the efficiency of the work done by the UN and its bodies, strengthening the role of the UN in preserving world peace, enhancing collective security and harmonizing global economic and social development.

UKRAINE

President Leonid D. Kuchma: The peoples of the Earth in 1945 received a unique instrument for consolidating mankind as a single universal organism in its efforts to survive and build a better world. At that time, the UN might have been the only universal forum in which Ukraine could proclaim its existence as a country. The support of the UN promoted the realization of our age-old aspiration to have a State of our own. Finally, I place great hopes in the future of the UN which brings us closer to the moment when we shall be able to say, "The United Nations means a united world".

Western EUROPE and Other States



ANDORRA

Prime Minister Marc Forné Molné: In the face of ever-present examples of lack of tolerance and solidarity, it might seem that to speak of the "human family" is to speak of a desire rather than of a reality. Making facts accord with words spoken in this forum depends on us. We celebrate joyfully the establishment of the United Nations and wish it well on its first half-century of existence. Today, we all pledge to help it advance, as a standard of equality among men and women and peoples, an advocate of tolerance, an instrument for promoting peace, for defending our natural heritage and for development. Many happy returns, United Nations!

AUSTRALIA

Governor-General Bill Hayden: The world is a very different place from the one which, 50 years ago, gave birth to the United Nations. As delegates in San Francisco in June 1945 prepared to sign the UN Charter, most of Europe and a great deal of Asia stood in ruins, over 48 million people had died and the survivors of the greatest conflict in human history asked themselves what could be done to stop such a catastrophe from ever happening again. Their answer was to create an organization which sought to enshrine the universal values of tolerance, social progress and respect for human dignity within international machinery.

AUSTRIA

Federal President Thomas Klestil: Ever since the first moments of its existence, the United Nations has been torn between idealism and power politics, between solidarity and egoism. It has always mirrored the state of the world, but at the same time, it has been much more than the sum total of national interests. But the most fateful contradiction was already present at its creation. It was to be a community of nations, but the famous opening words of the Charter read: "We, the peoples". The history of the UN is the perpetual attempt to bring the world Organization closer to the people and to forge them into a genuine community of humankind.

BELGIUM

Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene: This 50th anniversary should be an opportunity to adapt the United Nations

to new realities and to equip it to face the challenges of the next century. The best contribution of the international community to peace and security is to avoid the outbreak of conflicts by means of preventive diplomacy. The UN requires reform if it is to become more efficient and effective. But we must first give it a solid financial base. As a reflection of its Member States, the UN can do nothing unless we confirm our political commitment and comply with financial obligations.

CANADA

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien: For 50 years now the United Nations has symbolized Canada's best hopes for a world at peace. Today, more than ever, we need the UN to maintain international stability and order, to tackle problems that do not respect borders—such as AIDS, drugs and terrorism. Countries should pay their dues now. Fifty years ago, in the ashes of a world war, in the shadow of 50 million dead, our predecessors found the strength to believe in a better future, and the courage and determination to build one. The result was the establishment of the UN. Surely we, the leaders of 1995, should do no less.

DENMARK

Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen: We, the political leaders, are responsible for pointing the way for the United Nations. We set the agenda. We decide the priorities. The problems of the UN are our problems and our responsibility. Reform and rationalization are needed. So is the will to provide the Organization with political support and financial resources. The UN is exactly as strong as we make it. If the Organization does not fulfil our expectations, our credibility is at stake. Instead of criticizing the UN for not doing enough, we should take a close look at ourselves to see if we are doing enough for the UN.

FINLAND

President Martti Ahtisaari: The end of the cold war has provided the United Nations with new opportunities to strengthen international peace and security. It has helped the world to focus on threats to our common security which are not amenable to resolution by military means. For five decades, the UN has sought to provide security in the broadest sense of the word. The world Organization has been a source of inspiration and an obstacle to cynicism. We may not always recognize its efforts, and we may sometimes even resent them. But we cannot do without it.

FRANCE

President Jacques Chirac: Fifty years after our Charter was drafted, its aims have lost none of their relevance: peace and disarmament, democracy and development, the promotion of human rights and the fight against the great scourges that threaten mankind. In these 50 years, a body of common values has gradually come to be asserted. Today, we must focus our efforts on the adaptation and renewal of our Organization, above all by giving it the resources to operate. The temptation to disengage threatens the very existence of the UN. The world needs solidarity, and yes, it needs the United Nations!

GERMANY

Klaus Kinkel, Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs: Unfortunately, history does not always follow the straight paths of reason, but it does give us opportunities for progress which sometimes border on the miraculous. Today, on the threshold of a new millennium, we must learn the right lessons from the experiences gained over the last 50 years. We cannot change what lies behind us, but we can do better in the future. We must influence and shape what lies ahead. What is the challenge we are facing? Nothing less than to keep the Earth habitable for our children and grandchildren; to make sure that 8 or 10 billion people can live in humane conditions.

GREECE

President Constantinos Stephanopoulos: The primary objective of the UN—that of preserving new generations from the scourge of war—has been partially achieved. Thanks to what has been called the balance of terror among the Powers, but also thanks to the existence of the UN, it has been possible to avoid having the cold war transformed into a new global conflict. The UN has always been a forum for discussion and conciliation, and has been able to adopt significant resolutions which have not all remained a dead letter—quite the opposite. Strengthening the effectiveness of the UN would be to the advantage of all.

ICELAND

Prime Minister David Oddsson: The fiftieth anniversary of the UN is an occasion to reaffirm our commitment to this indispensable Organization and its ideals. To ensure that the UN lives up to its full potential, the process of adapting it to a changing global agenda must be brought to a successful conclusion. Necessary reforms need to be agreed upon and implemented without delay. The composition of the Security Council should reflect new realities, and the General Assembly should become more focused on relevance and efficiency.

IRELAND

President Mary Robinson: The 51 States that founded this Organization in 1945 wrought well. The United Nations has become the first universal organization of States in human

history and it has shaped the whole structure of international relations through the second half of the 20th century. But our special commemorative session will be an empty ritual, quickly forgotten, if we limit ourselves to congratulation. This is a time to adapt and renew what we have inherited; a time for vision, equal now to that of half a century ago; above all a time for Member States to make a new commitment and carry it through in action.

ITALY

Susanna Agnelli, Minister for Foreign Affairs: Fifty years ago the world's leaders succeeded in uniting all countries and peoples around common ideals and values. The result has been 50 years without a major war. The world has changed in the last 50 years and the United Nations has to change with it. International conflicts have been replaced by internal ones, characterized by political, economic, ethnic and religious tensions that often imply grave humanitarian crisis and human rights violations. We must seek new formulas and instruments to face the new crises. A reform of our Organization is clearly needed.

LIECHTENSTEIN

Prime Minister Mario Frick: We must look forward and strengthen the capacities and the effectiveness of the United Nations, which today, more than ever, is faced with numerous, enormous tasks. New problems and new challenges call for new, creative and flexible approaches. No one can deny that the United Nations today is not always able to respond swiftly and effectively to sometimes rapidly changing situations. A comprehensive reform and restructuring of the UN system is necessary to achieve this goal. No reform, however artful, will succeed unless the UN has a sound financial base.

LUXEMBOURG

Deputy Prime Minister Jacques F. Poos: Despite the paralysis engendered by the cold war, the UN was able to ensure relative stability by preventing the outbreak of a major conflagration and by limiting the scope and intensity of existing conflicts. The UN improved the living conditions of and offered sanctuary to hundreds of millions of the disinherited and homeless. It alone has the authority and legitimacy to attempt to meet such challenges as complex political, military and humanitarian crises, international terrorism, arms proliferation, drug trafficking, and environmental degradation.

MALTA

Deputy Prime Minister Guido de Marco: These first 50 years have shown that the moral and political foundations of the United Nations are rooted in ideals and aspirations which go beyond a simple aggregate of membership and the search for pragmatic solutions to specific and immediate problems. The whole is more than the sum of its parts. The founding fathers of the United Nations hitched their wagon to a star in charting the course of the future. This global vision rests and depends on the recognition of and respect for the rights, freedoms and dignity of each and every human being.

MONACO

Prince Rainier III, Head of State: The terrible images of the Second World War, of horrible combats, of massive destruction, of endless suffering, remind us of the dangers that brought 51 countries to San Francisco. We still see too often the tragic picture of civilians fleeing the fighting and taking the road of exodus to uncertain destinations; we see families, women and old people completely abandoned. In all circumstances, the UN has done its utmost, with the authority and means available to it, to help promote a return to peace, to protect the peoples exposed to danger and to ease the suffering of victims.

> "The world is changing, and it is time for the United Nations to change with it. The world needs the UN, as much today as at any time in the past: a UN that works."
>
> —United Kingdom

NETHERLANDS

Prime Minister Wim Kok: This Commemorative Meeting is a good opportunity to reflect on both the achievements and the shortcomings of the United Nations. We have to ask ourselves why, after 50 years, so few of the original ideals laid down in the Charter have been fully realized. We also have to be aware that we, the Member States, play a crucial role in every success or failure of the UN. The main task before us is to come to grips with reality. We must determine what it is that we want from the UN and how much we are willing to pay, politically and financially, in order to let the Organization do its work.

NEW ZEALAND

Prime Minister James Brendan Bolger: Those who founded this Organization had a vision of a better world. Some of that vision has been achieved. The spread of human rights and democracy and UN support for the role of women, for a fair trading system, for the protection of the environment—all these achievements must be recognized and celebrated. Today, the generation raised in the shadow of the cold war has the opportunity to direct its energy to the protection and enhancement of the planet, not its destruction. Let us put differences to one side and learn to live with diversity. There is so much we can accomplish by working together.

NORWAY

Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland: To millions of people, the United Nations has meant food where there was none, vaccination where epidemics raged, a school to attend, a

new well in the village, and Blue Helmets who kept belligerents apart, shielding civil life. To scores of new nations, access to this rostrum meant sovereignty and self-determination. From this rostrum, for 50 years, all countries have been able to call for world attention. But let us not only commemorate the past. Let us also chart a new beginning. The ploughshare that worked for five decades is worn. Let us forge a new one.

PORTUGAL

President Mario Soares: Tribute must be paid to the United Nations for its steadfast efforts to further peace, dialogue and development. In a rapidly changing world, in the face of unstoppable processes of globalization, the United Nations must do everything it can to ensure that changes occur without serious disruptions and in the service of all mankind. We must, however, have the courage to recognize that the gap that separates the poor countries from the wealthy is growing ever wider and is becoming truly explosive. Will we be capable of ensuring peace, our most precious asset?

"Tribute must be paid to the United Nations for its steadfast efforts to further peace."
—Portugal

SAN MARINO

Captain Regent Piero Natalino Mularoni: No more wars! This is the strong and resolute appeal that the Captains Regent of the Republic of San Marino wish to reiterate to this Assembly. Over the years, this very Hall has witnessed the celebration of many achievements, the real sharing and resolution of peoples' problems, the condemnation of unfair treatment and dictatorships, as well as the admission of many peoples once exploited by colonial regimes and oppressed by intolerant systems. No more wars! This is the appeal of a small country which is also one of the newest UN Members.

SPAIN

Felipe González, President of the Government: The birth of our Organization, so closely linked to the end of a tragic war, enshrined principles underlying the common effort to fulfil mankind's aspirations: peace, freedom, human dignity, and economic and social progress. The great sufferings caused in Europe by the wars that pitted our peoples against each other made us look upon the Charter of San Francisco for inspiration. One cannot conceive of today's world without the UN contribution to decolonization, environment, development, and to innovative concepts such as the common heritage of mankind.

SWEDEN

Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson: We live in a world where more and more services need to be provided globally, in our truly common interest. We must develop systems of financing that assure adequate, predictable and sustainable levels of funding. The mandatory contributions should continue to be the backbone of the financing of the core activities, but the dependency of one large contributor must be reduced. We need to explore the possibility of creating an international tax on foreign currency transactions. We must uphold the strictest respect for the financial commitments we all have made when accepting the UN Charter.

TURKEY

President Süleyman Demirel: Fifty years ago, the United Nations was created to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in achieving a better world for all. The UN Charter was to provide the road map to a new international order. However, the initial hopes and aspirations of the founders turned into disillusionment during the dark days of the cold war. Now, there is a widespread revival of the positive spirit that prevailed half a century ago. We should seize this moment to adapt the UN to the new challenges and demands of our times, and in this we must not fail.

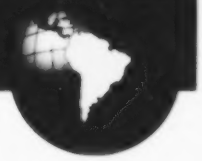
UNITED KINGDOM

Prime Minister John Major: Throughout the past 50 years, the principles of the Charter have stood the test of time. But now, we need to look ahead. The world is changing, and it is time for the United Nations to change with it. The world needs the UN, as much today as at any time in the past; a UN that works; a UN using today's methods to address tomorrow's needs; a UN that shows its worth to the taxpayer in all our countries. In that way, I believe we can capture and justify popular support for our Organization. Today, we face difficulties that we must overcome. At this commemoration, my hope is that we will find the will to do so.

UNITED STATES

President William J. Clinton: The United Nations has not stopped human suffering, but it has healed the wounds and lengthened the lives of millions of human beings. The UN has not banished repression or poverty from the Earth, but it has advanced the cause of freedom and prosperity on every continent. It has been a force for good and a bulwark against evil. So at the dawn of a new century so full of promise, yet plagued by peril, we still need the UN. And so, for another 50 years and beyond, you can count the United States in.

LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN



ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

Prime Minister Lester Bryant Bird: I come neither to bury the United Nations nor to praise it. Today, the UN's moral authority is sorely wounded, bleeding from its wounds in Bosnia, in Rwanda and in Somalia. Rogue regimes in these places have challenged the power of the UN and found an impotent force constrained by its limited operations' mandate and weakened by the paucity of its resources. The might of the world community, which should have been an overwhelming force to end conflict, stop killing and save lives, proved to be incapable of enforcing the peace that it set out to keep—hobbled essentially by its Member States.

ARGENTINA

President Carlos Saúl Menem: Fifty years have elapsed since the unspeakable pain and suffering of a terrible war gave rise to the United Nations. Today, we are celebrating much more than an anniversary. We evoke the dream, the vision, the fears and also the courage of a few men who, despite the proximity of horror, dared to imagine a space for the preservation of international peace and security, international cooperation, the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the economic and social progress of peoples. This generation—our generation—owes the founding fathers of the UN its deepest gratitude.

BAHAMAS

Prime Minister Hubert A. Ingraham: It is our desire that the next five decades bear the fruit of our theme today—"We the Peoples of the United Nations ... United for a Better World". We hope for a world freed from the scourge of illicit drug traffic, relieved of the burdens created by uncontrolled migration, protected by greater environmental consciousness, enhanced through increased literacy and health standards everywhere, strengthened by Member States that fully honour their financial obligations to this body, and liberated from poverty, disease, unemployment, racism, religious persecution, tyranny and strife.

BARBADOS

Prime Minister Owen S. Arthur: Looking ahead, the United Nations of the next 50 years must embark on its unfinished journey, reformed and re-energized, to meet the challenges of a world of tumultuous global change. The reformed UN must construct a new system of security to reflect the changed nature of today's conflicts, conflicts mainly within nations, rather than between nations. It must accelerate and intensify its development mission. It must respond with dispatch to the cry and suffering of the world's poor, whose plight weighs heavily on the conscience of the world.

BELIZE

Prime Minister Manuel Esquivel: The 50 original signatories could not have foreseen that 50 years later this world Organization would consist of Member States with populations ranging from 1 billion to 16,000 people. While war and the peaceful settlement of disputes was the number one priority in 1945, priority number one in 1995 is found in Article 2 of the Charter which states that the Organization is based on "the sovereign equality of all its Members". Today, as the large and powerful sit side by side with the small and vulnerable, the principle of sovereign equality is a difficult pill for some and an elusive goal for others.

BOLIVIA

Edgar Camacho Omiste, Chairman of the Delegation: Lasting peace on Earth requires justice in international relations and within each country. If harmony is to prevail among nations, solutions have to be found to situations that impede fraternal relations among peoples. Someday in the not-too-distant future, there will be an end to situations of oppression and dependency, just as colonialism will come to an end, extreme poverty will disappear, friendship among peoples will flourish, and the free and sovereign presence of Bolivia on the Pacific Ocean will become possible. The power politics of yesterday will have to give way to brotherhood and cooperation as central instruments in the new international relations.

BRAZIL

President Fernando Henrique Cardoso: We are living in better times than 50 years ago. By freeing the international agenda of the tensions generated by ideological confrontation, the end of the cold war created the conditions for a growing convergence of values, with democracy, economic freedom and social justice at centre stage. Human advancement is at the core of the international debate. This is a forum in which we should, within the complex context of globalization, work to overcome a persistent situation of social and economic inequalities giving rise to hopelessness and a feeling of exclusion.

CHILE

President Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle: Up to now, the United Nations has been the setting for intergovernmental agreement. It is now time to begin the long march towards the consolidation of ties between the peoples and groups of different societies. The exchange of cultural values in civil society can provide an important source of support for the elimination of apprehensions, racism and prejudice against human conditions of all types. The future of the UN must be marked by emphasis on human development, preservation of the environment and the consolidation of peace.

COLOMBIA

President Ernesto Samper Pizano: The creation of the United Nations 50 years ago sowed the seeds of hope for mankind: hope for peace and progress, faith in the peaceful mechanisms for the settlement of conflicts and credibility in

multilateralism as we confront the most wrenching issues before humankind. Today, we have to rethink what we are in order to know what we want to become. The task of the new UN system must be to regain that vision, so that we may continue to prevail as a civilization, as a democracy and as rational human beings.

COSTA RICA

President José María Figueres: To remain true to the spirit of San Francisco, the UN must not remain neutral or passive in the face of major conflicts. New challenges include assuming responsibility for protecting and preserving global assets. Only an organization that represents equally all the peoples of the Earth can be successful in this undertaking. We dream of a UN that encourages forums of cooperation among all nations to reduce the greenhouse effect, to save, study and make use of the planet's biodiversity, to decontaminate the seas and thereby ensure the greater well-being of present and future generations.

"We dream of a UN that encourages forums to reduce the greenhouse effect, save the planet's biodiversity and decontaminate the seas."

—Costa Rica

CUBA

Fidel Castro Ruz, President of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers: The obsolete veto privilege and the ill-use of the Security Council by the powerful are exalting a new colonialism within the United Nations. Latin America and Africa do not have a single permanent member in the Security Council. In Asia, India has a population of almost 1 billion but it does not enjoy that responsibility. How long shall we wait for the democratization of the UN and for the independence and sovereign equality of States to become a reality? How long before non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and true international cooperation take their rightful places? How long shall we have to wait before rationality, equity and justice prevail in the world?

DOMINICA

Prime Minister Edison C. James: The United Nations system was designed to deal with the problems of the postwar period, mainly related to the disruption of international peace through recourse to arms. Today's threat to peace has to do primarily with development. Cost-cutting measures and streamlining should take into account the legitimate aspirations of people in small and vulnerable States. Let us always remember that every human being has a right to be clothed with dignity, and that at the very heart of the cosmos stands that same human being, that irreducible kernel of development.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Constitutional Vice-President Jacinto Peynado Garrigosa: United Nations achievements have been one of the most precious assets of mankind throughout this past half century. This Organization has been able to settle and avoid armed conflicts, has fostered democratic institutions by promoting free and fair elections, and has raised its voice in defence of the poor, bringing humanitarian assistance to tens of millions. It led in efforts towards reversing environmental degradation throughout the world and achieving a sustainable way of life as we approach the 21st century.

ECUADOR

Galo Leoro, Minister for Foreign Affairs: To attend to the new and increasing demands being placed by the international community, our Organization needs major structural change, adopted under the obligations derived from the Charter of San Francisco. Respect for the binding nature of this fundamental universal instrument is the only way to guarantee the survival of small and weak States. We reaffirm our commitment to pursuing the ongoing quest for just and equitable solutions, arising from agreements mutually arrived at, to the conflicts that persist in the world.

EL SALVADOR

President Armando Calderón Sol: The international order of the postwar period was marked by antagonism and ideological confrontation. Nonetheless, the UN attained important and substantial achievements, outstanding among which were its significant contributions to avoiding another world war with unimaginable consequences, eliminating colonialism and racial discrimination, encouraging the codification of international law, strengthening the international system of human rights and promoting improvement of political, economic and social conditions of our peoples.

GRENADA

Robert E. Millette, Chairman of the Delegation: Some refer to the United Nations as the biggest debating society in the world, in which perception takes precedence over substance, rhetoric over reality—a Tower of Babel where debates consist of grotesque rituals of recurrent irrelevancies. The truth of the matter is that the UN, as a relatively young institution, is the quintessential example of humanity's struggle for peace among nations and within nations. It bears the marks of humanity's triumphs and failures. However, in the pursuit of peace, the UN continues "to run and not be weary, to walk and not grow faint".

GUATEMALA

President Ramiro De León Carpio: The United Nations' founding fathers, mindful of the tragedy of the two world wars, sought to create a new order based on justice for all. There can never be justice or peace if we deny the right of every human being and every nation to engage in dialogue on

a footing of equality and to enjoy the identical dignity without which no member of our species can truly be free, without the shackles of poverty and without the bitterness of the hatred engendered by inequality. Universal representation should prevail at the UN, without any kind of exclusion.

GUYANA

President Cheddi Jagan: A new global human order must be an adjunct to the UN Agenda for Development. A new global human order must have as its goal human development, which means meeting the basic needs of the people, attaining cultural uplift and providing a clean and safe environment. To attain a new global human order, it is necessary to establish a sound and just system of global governance based on a genuine North-South partnership and interdependence for mutual benefit; a democratic culture of representative, consultative and participatory democracy, and a lean and clean administration.

HAITI

President Jean-Bertrand Aristide: Celebrating the 50th anniversary of the United Nations is especially meaningful for the world's first independent black republic. It gives us the opportunity also to celebrate the first anniversary of the return of democracy to Haiti. It came about thanks to the heroism and courage of the Haitian people, to the leadership of President Clinton, to you, Mr. Secretary-General, and to all of our dear UN friends. Gratitude is the heart's memory; let the beating of our hearts express our intense joy at having together achieved this miracle of the century.

HONDURAS

President Carlos Roberto Reina: The United Nations must help us find the humanism of our times. As if in a new Renaissance, we must erect a heretofore unseen concept of man on the shoulders of science and technology, a concept by which the importance of material things is found in their relationship with the higher levels of humanitarian conscience. This road begins by vanquishing poverty, defeating illegitimate power, breaking corruption and impunity and establishing a world order loved and sustained by all. There is no better definition of a future democracy.

JAMAICA

Prime Minister Percival James Patterson: We concede that the United Nations is by no means perfect. Yet, we shudder even to contemplate what kind of world would have emerged without it. It has become an indispensable instrument in the search for global dialogue in the resolution of disputes. It offers the only hope for the harmonization of global interests and for defusing the complex issues which otherwise can so easily ignite. We sometimes forget that the UN is the creature of its Members. We make it what we will. As Member States, it is our solemn obligation to build an effective system which generates lasting peace and social justice.

MEXICO

President Ernesto Zedillo: In today's world, serious problems persist which are at the root of conflicts that in the past gave rise to confrontations. Globalization and interdependence coexist alongside trends towards isolationism and intolerance. Restrictive nationalism, attempts at genocide and fragmentation, environmental deterioriation and drug trafficking, economic disparities, social inequality and poverty are the current threats to peace and security. For this reason, the principles underlying and the ***raison d'etre*** of the birth of the United Nations are today still fully valid.

NICARAGUA

Ernesto Leal, Minister for Foreign Affairs: The time has come to faithfully fulfil the commitment established in the UN Charter to promote economic and social advancement of all peoples. We must begin the UN's largest peace-keeping operation—placing the human being at the centre of economic and social development. Development should be the other phase of the work of the next 50 years of the UN—a UN that looks towards the South, which is still poor and without resources, so the 21st century may also become the century of development. We face the great challenge of turning into reality the results of world conferences on children, the environment, social development, population, human rights and women.

PANAMA

President Ernesto Perez Balladares: The genuinely far-reaching importance of the Organization can be measured not in quantifiable terms, but in terms of intangible but real values: wars never fought, victims that never died, children not orphaned. When we look at the record of these 50 years, many will say that the Organization has been an arena for sterile debate, but it is preferable for the world to have a forum in which conflicts can spend themselves in words rather than constantly to seek battlefields on which to resolve disputes of its own invention.

PARAGUAY

President Juan Carlos Wasmosy: Paraguay has the same fervour and conviction today about the United Nations as it had when it signed the Charter, and it continues to support the Organization with a view to its pursuing peace in the world, on the basis of the harmonious and balanced development of the Member States. Our support is not shaken or destroyed by some failures which the UN may have suffered.

This Organization is absolutely necessary in our world to carry out the goals the peoples of the UN undertook to accomplish after the butchery of the Second World War.

PERU

Vice-President César Paredes Canto: The United Nations has had unquestionable successes in the 50 years of its existence. However, we cannot fail to stress that, during this period, we have not experienced 50 years of world peace. The conflicts that are still proliferating in many parts of the Earth mean that, at this very moment, men, women and children are falling victim to armed clashes which, far from resolving problems, aggravate them because land that is strewn with destruction and death is the most fertile ground for resentment and further sterile conflicts, even more bitter and prolonged, generating an endless spiral of violence.

SAINT KITTS AND NEVIS

Prime Minister Denzil Douglas: In 50 years, the structure of the United Nations has hardly changed. Yet, its circumstances have changed beyond anything its founders would recognize. In this new era, we should endeavour to make the Security Council more representative of and responsive to its membership. The developing world should now become permanent members of the Security Council. The goal of appropriate representation should guide our efforts to ensure that all the peoples of the world, who have observed the principles of the UN Charter, are welcomed into this fraternity of nations.

SAINT LUCIA

Prime Minister John G. M. Compton: In spite of developments which seem to have violated the idealism of the founding fathers, the Organization has much cause for celebration. Its many organs and agencies, which work quietly and efficiently away from the glare of the media, have many achievements to their credit. They are engaged in silent battles against man's ancient enemies of ignorance, poverty and disease. They have kept the peace in many parts of the world without the fanfare of international commendation. They have registered remarkable successes in freeing subject peoples from the yoke of colonial domination.

SAINT VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES

Prime Minister James Fitz-Allen Mitchell: Over the passage of time, men with vision conceive an idea, create an institution, and one that benefits mankind for all time. Our United Nations belongs to this noble category, of which there are few that have earned 50 years' respect. The celebration of this anniversary would not have been so worthy a cause if the evils of communism had not been put to rest. We still await atonement by those who imposed such monumental waste on our civilization. I personally would wish to single out Mr. Gorbachev for his leadership in having jettisoned the awful load on our behalf, and creating the opportunities to carry us sumptuously into the 21st century.

SURINAME

President Runaldo Ronald Venetiaan: There is no doubt that unless we overcome and rectify certain shortcomings of the United Nations, this Organization will not be able to play its fundamental role in the management of the new world order; neither will it be able to realize its noble principles. Thus, a most urgent task for the international community now is to reinvigorate, restructure and democratize the UN and to give it a sound financial basis for the fulfilment of old and new tasks, in order to relieve international relations of suspicion and hostility, to bring an end to violence, and to fully activate the creative potential of the UN.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Annette des Iles, Chairperson of the Delegation: For Trinidad and Tobago, as for the great majority of the Member States which make up this Organization, our first responsibility is to our people: to provide an acceptable standard of living and an improved quality of life for all our citizens, including our young people and our women. It follows that in countries such as ours, this Organization will be judged largely by the extent to which it can assist in this effort. We wish to urge, therefore, that international cooperation for development be placed at the centre of the activities of the United Nations.

> "We must prepare the Organization for a new era with a new agenda."
>
> —Venezuela

URUGUAY

Vice-President Hugo Batalla: Today, as we commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Organization, we are living through an anxious and uncertain present in which even human values themselves are called in question. It is our responsibility to look ahead and to build on today's anxiety a brighter tomorrow in which all people, whatever their colour, their gender, their religious creed or the place where they live, will have the right, recognized as theirs by the international community, to a life of dignity with access to all the benefits that civilization affords. The eyes of the world are on us today; we are being called on to take up this challenge.

VENEZUELA

President Rafael Caldera: A new half century is beginning for the United Nations. We must prepare the Organization for a new era with a new agenda. Antagonisms, of all sorts, poverty, especially abject poverty, selfishness and corruption, which eat away at our conscience and destroy institutions, all represent the most serious threat to peace. These are the greatest enemies that we must fight against in the new half century that is now dawning for the UN. It is time to stand up to those enemies, to turn our good intentions into reality.

OTHER SPEAKERS

HOLY SEE

Secretary of State Angelo Cardinal Sodano: In his address on 5 October, the Holy Father expressed the wish that the Organization might grow as a moral centre, as a family of nations. It can realize this mission only if each State feels that it is accepted and recognized for what it is and is willing to give and take, and if all share the same heritage of values whose highest expressions remain the ideals of justice, freedom, peace and solidarity.

SWITZERLAND

Secretary of State Jakob Kellenberger: Fifty years ago, the founding Members of the United Nations decided to be the joint guarantors of international peace and security and to promote human rights and social and economic development in the world. In the United Nations, we have today a sound tool for global policy-making that enables us, day by day and year by year, to build our future.

AGENCY FOR THE PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Secretary-General Enrique Roman-Morey: In February 1967, nearly 22 years after the signing of the Charter of the UN, Latin America and the Caribbean—at the core of the cold war without being part of it—gave mankind the example of the Treaty of Tlatelolco for the prohibition of nuclear weapons, which established the intergovernmental organization that I represent. For a world free of nuclear tests and nuclear weapons, I congratulate the United Nations.

ASIAN-AFRICAN LEGAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

Secretary-General Tang Chengyuan: Consensus-building in the codification of international law is by nature a time-consuming and complex process, but the spirit of cooperation kindled by the Organization has kept the international legislative draftsmen and lawyers totally preoccupied, in particular during the ongoing UN Decade of International Law.

CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY

Secretary-General Edwin Carrington: Today, 50 years following the signing of the Charter creating the United Nations, this Organization still represents mankind's greatest hope for peace, development and international cooperation. Of particular significance to the Caribbean community is the UN contribution to recognizing the equal sovereign status of nations, while promoting the special needs of the least developed and small nation States.

CENTRAL AMERICAN INTEGRATION SYSTEM

Julio Icaza Gallard, Director of Functional Integration at the General Secretariat: The current recognition, in the United Nations, of the fact that worldwide peace, security and stability can be achieved only if the economic and social needs of peoples are met is shared by the Central American Integration System. We should tackle simultaneously the economic, social, cultural, political and environmental spheres.

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

Secretary-General Emeka Anyaoku: The United Nations is the globe's only truly universal Organization. The effectiveness of the Organization is directly linked to the commitment and support of its constituents. The commitment of all Member States—including those of the Commonwealth—to the UN should reflect their determination to strengthen it and make it a dynamic and strong Organization.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION ORGANIZATION

Secretary-General Shamshad Ahmad: We certainly need a just, fair and equitable economic order free of discriminatory and protectionist walls. It is in this direction that the United Nations should focus its attention in the coming years. The international community must develop new patterns of collaboration on the basis of equality, partnership, interdependence and mutuality of benefit.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Hans van den Broek, on behalf of the European Community: The present agenda of the United Nations has become more complex and more demanding than at any other time in its history. Instability has entrenched itself in many parts of the world. We have been witnessing the revival of nationalism, of ethnic cleansing, of unprecedented humanitarian crises, of gross violations of human rights, and even of genocide. The world, therefore, needs the UN today more than ever.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

President Cornelio Sommaruga: Abounding in symbolism, the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the United Nations invites us to ponder history. The International Committee of the Red Cross is therefore pleased to join in this celebration, which enables it to reaffirm its faith in mankind by paying tribute to an institution moulded in its image: imperfect, unique, yet irreplaceable.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF RED CROSS AND RED CRESCENT SOCIETIES

President Mario Enrique Villarroel Lander: Both the UN and our institution were founded by idealists who sought to bring works of enduring peace to the world. In our missions—yours aimed at constructing a better world with peace, full justice and freedom; ours aimed at the improvement of life for the world's vulnerable people—we have likewise brought together the world's States and their peoples.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION

Director-General James N. Purcell: How the world responds to migratory pressures is of critical importance to

global stability and well-being. Once considered primarily as a positive force in nation-building, migrants are now, more often than not, seen as the visible messengers of society's failures. IOM can be a key resource in exploring comprehensive solutions, only in close partnership with the United Nations.

LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Permanent Secretary Carlos Moneta: Clearly, the balance sheet for these 50 years of United Nations activities is positive in connection with the objective of the maintenance of international peace and security. But there still exist serious areas of tension and conflict which require more resolute action by the system. Moreover, there must be greater democratization in the decision-making process within the Security Council.

LATIN AMERICAN PARLIAMENT

President Humberto Celli Gerbasi: At the close of the 20th century, the prospects for the developing countries are not very encouraging. We feel that there should be an ethical obligation to allow for the economic growth and social development of all nations, one in which there are no exploiters and no exploited, and in which freedom, peace, harmony and social justice prevail.

LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES

Mahmoud Aboul-Nasr, Chairman of the Delegation: The Arab States participated in the drafting of the United Nations Charter and have taken part in the work of the Organization for the past 50 years. Today, the Arab States, like all other Member States, look forward to a new phase, a phase in which, we hope, peace and justice will prevail and in which human rights and man's fundamental freedoms will be respected all over the world.

ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

Secretary-General Wilhelm Höynck: The situation in the world today requires an ever more closely interlocking network of international organizations, in which the United Nations must have a special place. Only with such a network will we be able to cope with the challenges confronting us. We should give further thought to how we can integrate non-governmental organizations more effectively into such a network.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim: Fifty years ago, a free Africa, liberated from colonialism and racial bigotry, was only a concept of many and a distant dream even to the optimistic internationalists among those who met in San Francisco to draw up the UN Charter. To the Organization of African Unity and Africa as a whole, therefore, the United Nations has been an instrument of liberation. Today, Africa is free, thanks to a great extent to the joint struggle coming from within the United Nations.

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

Secretary-General César Gaviria: Our continent, which is today united by the values of democracy and freedom, regards the United Nations as the most appropriate and effective instrument to further the collective aspirations of mankind. During these three days, many have mentioned the successes of the past. We should like to join this recognition of half a century of activity and success.

ORGANIZATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE

Secretary-General Hamid Algabid: The imperative need to preserve peace and save succeeding generations from the scourge of war demands adherence to universally recognized principles and a firm determination to defend law and legality wherever they are under threat. Here, the Unitd Nations has done remarkable work. Similarly, inspiring work has been done by the entire UN system in the areas of development, culture, health, and social and humanitarian affairs in all regions, including in the Islamic world.

PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee: I came to this Assembly 21 years ago as a fighter for freedom, liberation and independence, carrying with me the torments of my struggling people. Today, however, I come to you with a heart filled with love and peace, now that the olive branch has been raised over the peace of the brave. The winds of change are blowing on our world.

PERMANENT COUNCIL OF FRANCOPHONIE

President Emile-Derlin Zinsou: The francophone community sees itself above all as a place of solidarity. It finds unity in the diversity of its membership, which extends to every continent. In this United Nations, a lofty forum for dialogue, and especially for North-South dialogue, my presence attests to one of the fundamental dimensions of that community, most of whose members are from the South.

SOUTH PACIFIC FORUM

Deputy Secretary-General Nikenike Vurobaravu: The vision on which the United Nations was built—peace, human dignity, justice, economic and social progress—will be as valid in the next 50 years as it was in the last 50. In an increasingly complex, interdependent world, the UN's role in pursuing that vision is more and more important to small countries, such as those of the South Pacific Forum

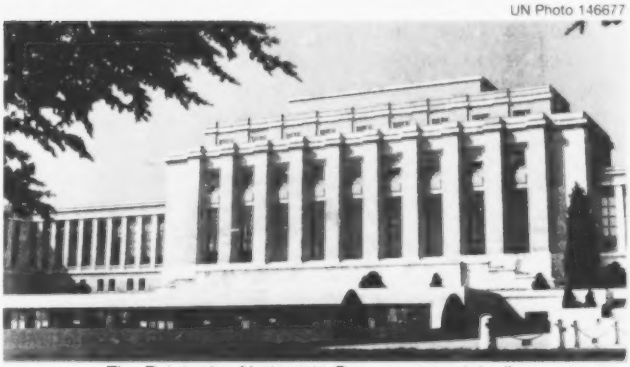
SOVEREIGN MILITARY ORDER OF MALTA

Count Carlo Marullo di Condojanni, Member of the Sovereign Council: The inception of the United Nations 50 years ago heralded the hope for a new era of peace and well-being around the world. The aim was to leave behind us a war in which the atrocities were on a scale previously unknown to mankind, a war that, with the introduction of nuclear weapons, had convinced peoples and Governments that they had to seek peace at any price.

The First Fifty Years
The Main Achievements

By Diogo Freitas do Amaral
President of the Fiftieth General Assembly

UN Photo 146677



The Palais des Nations in Geneva was originally the home of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations lasted a little more than 20 years; the United Nations has now lasted half a century. The League of Nations did not manage to achieve its principal objective: to avoid the Second World War; the United Nations has managed to achieve its principal goal: to avoid a third world war. The League of Nations concentrated all its peacemaking efforts on disarmament; the United Nations understood from the start that disarmament, while very important, was not the only way to prevent war, and strengthened its collective security system with a range of policies for economic, social and educational development.

Our "founding fathers" were endowed with foresight: the establishment in 1945 of the UN represented great hope for all people of good will throughout the world. It is true that these past 50 years have not been marked exclusively by successes and victories. The existence of the UN, like that of any organization, has been marked by many errors and defeats. But was that not inevitable, given the very nature of human beings, society and the world as it is?

In this connection, I should like to quote a remark about the UN which I consider apposite. It was made by a great President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, who said in 1962:

"Our instrument and our hope is the United Nations, and I see little merit in the impatience of those who would abandon this imperfect world instrument because they dislike our imperfect world."

Today, after our Organization has been in existence for 50 years, should our assessment of its activities be positive or negative? We are all well aware of the Organization's failures, especially its most recent ones. And the critics have not ceased their criticism. So, in the interest of balance, it is only fair to enumerate the main achievements of the UN.

Avoiding a new world war

The first, of which I have already spoken, but to which I wish to return because of its exceptional importance and which can never be stressed too much, is the following: the UN succeeded in avoiding what many deemed inevitable—the outbreak of a third world war. Although this result cannot be ascribed solely to the UN, the Organization did play a primary role in the prevention of armed East-West conflict which would have been fatal for mankind.

Three very important elements demonstrate that the international community has rightfully valued the actions carried out by the UN over the last 50 years. First, five Nobel prizes were awarded to the Organization or to one of its elements. Secondly, the number of Member States has increased from 51 in 1945 to 185 in 1995. The fact that this number has more than tripled is because the great majority of countries of the world believe that the UN has more qualities and advantages than flaws and drawbacks. Thirdly, a decision was taken to hold in October a large meeting, with the participation of more than 150 Heads of State or Government from the entire world. And, indeed, it is obvious that if so many outstanding leaders have decided to come to New York to commemorate a mere anniversary, it is because this anniversary is unquestionably the occasion for celebrating a series of important events.

I have already spoken of that global peace which fortunately has been maintained successfully for some 50 years now despite numerous local or regional conflicts which it has been impossible to avoid. But here, even in that difficult area of war and peace, the UN can pride itself on having made a decisive contribution to noticeable progress in the fields of disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation, and on having conducted negotiations and concluded agreements within the framework of the peace process for which the outcome was positive as, for example, in Cambodia, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Eritrea, Mozambique and, we hope, also in Angola.

Secondly, the UN, more than any other institution, has contributed to establishing and attempting to guarantee in practice the primacy of international law, and it is well known that, without a state of law, a human being cannot know that peace, freedom or security, which allows him to lead a normal existence in a civilized society. We will never forget the nightmare of

"man who is a wolf to man" described with insight in the "state of nature" of the *Leviathan* of Thomas Hobbes. And, in speaking of the contribution of the UN to the recognition of the primacy of international law, I wish to hail the outstanding action and lofty prestige achieved by one of its major bodies, the International Court of Justice, to which I wish to pay a very sincere tribute.

Thirdly, also to the credit of the UN, is the attention and importance which it attaches to human rights. It is the UN which has universalized them; it is the UN that has led States to accept, through the recognition of human rights, the fact that the State is at the service of man and not man at the service of the State. It is the UN which, not limiting itself to those classical human rights born of the American and the French revolutions, consecrated the fundamental rights of the second generation and, in particular, economic, social and cultural rights. And, once again, it is the UN which today is playing a leading role in the struggle for the respect of the fundamental rights of the third generation, in particular, rights dealing with the protection of nature and of the environment, an area in which, for the first time in the history of mankind, it is no longer exclusively a question of recognizing or establishing rights governing the relations of human beings among themselves or *vis-à-vis* the State, but also to attempt to establish and implement machinery which will lead to the recognition of the rights of animals and of nature in the face of acts of aggression perpetrated by the human being himself.

Conventions: Glorious landmarks

A major reason for pride and satisfaction is the fact that it has been possible, once again thanks to the UN, to draw up and implement international conventions which do honour mankind and which will form glorious landmarks in the history of the first 50 years of the Organization and will rank among its justified achievements. I am thinking, in particular, of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. What would mankind be without these basic texts? Would they ever have been produced without the intervention of the UN?

It is the UN to which we owe the contribution to universal awareness of the idea that our world is formed of equal beings all enjoying the same fundamental rights to human dignity. This ideal is already long-standing. Saint Paul affirmed that with the "new man" ... "there is neither Greek nor Jew, ... barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free" (*The Holy Bible, Colossians* 3:10-11).

> "The establishment in 1945 of the UN represented great hope for all people of good will throughout the world"

But while that ideal is indeed an ancient one, nevertheless 20 centuries were required to enshrine it in a legal declaration of universal scope and here the credit is due to the UN. That ideal must never be forgotten nor must we fail to mention it, whether or not we adhere to the religious tradition of which it was born.

Fourthly, the UN certainly has the right to claim the major credit linked with two other victories won by mankind in the twentieth century, namely, decolonization and the end of apartheid. The fact that the number of States Members of the Organization has increased from 51 to 185 is due basically to decolonization. And the fact is that if an end was put to the un-acceptable regime in South Africa, this is in great part due to the condemnations and criticisms levelled by the UN.

It is interesting to emphasize that the leaders who succeeded in bringing about decolonization, like those who put an end to apartheid, had the most wide-ranging political convictions, a fact which clearly demonstrates that the ideals enshrined in the Charter of the UN are neither partisan nor ideological, nor religious, but purely and simply humanitarian, and that it suffices to believe in the dignity of all human beings and to respect it in practice in order to be a law-abiding and consistent Member of the UN.

Consolidating internal democratization

Fifthly, the UN has contributed, especially since the end of the cold war, to consolidating and concretizing the process of internal democratization on which many countries have embarked, countries that have decided of their own will to move from a one-party regime to a multi-party system.

It is not for the UN to dictate to a Member State the form of government the latter must adopt in its political constitution. On the other hand, the UN can and must assist those who decide on their own to embark upon a process of democratization. This is what it has done to this very day in more than 45 countries, providing assistance not only in the electoral sphere, but in other fields as well. Those who are convinced, as I am, of the superiority of the pluralistic democratic model must stress this fact and welcome it.

Sixthly—and lastly—I should like to draw attention to one of the most relevant and positive aspects of the UN, one which in most cases the Organization's detractors, and even impartial observers, frequently overlook. Here, I am referring to the outstandingly commendable part played by a large number of autonomous UN agencies and bodies in promoting the economic, social and cultural development of the poorest and most disadvantaged of the world's peoples.

—Excerpted from his speech to the General Assembly on 19 September

The Challenge of Africa

UNHCR Photo/M. Vanappelghem

Ministers debate vicious cycle of poverty and conflict, new initiatives for development

Faced with unrelenting impoverishment, marginalization and social strife engulfing Africa—home to the greatest proportion of least developed nations in the world—ministers from every region of the world convened during the 1995 session of the UN Economic and Social Council to tackle the complex range of interrelated issues and problems that have made the economic and social development of Africa a formidable challenge.

"Today, this continent often baffles the world by continually giving the international community reasons for alternating between hope and discouragement", UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said on 4 July in an address to the opening of the Council's three-day high-level segment, whose purpose is to set UN policy on major international matters.

Not only must Africa contend with an unwieldy debt burden, runaway population growth and environmental deterioration, but also "the African continent is still too often the scene of ethnic confrontations and civil wars that compound the existing poverty and underdevelopment", the Secretary-General continued, noting that there are currently 10 wars and internal conflicts underway and nearly 9 million refugees and displaced persons in Africa—the highest figure of any other continent. "Conflicts help to spawn poverty, and poverty is

UNDP Photo/Bernard Pierre Wolff

itself an undeniable factor in conflict. This vicious cycle absolutely has to be broken", he said.

During the 1980s, several regional and international initiatives—including the UN Programme of Action for African Economic Development—were launched, but most of them were only partly implemented. In 1991, the General Assembly adopted the UN New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, with the hope that the end to the cold war would provide new and ample opportunities for international cooperation to halt Africa's downward spiral.

Mixed results

However, four years after the adoption of the New Agenda and one year before its mid-term review, the results are mixed, according to a report of the Secretary-General *(E/1995/81)* for consideration at the high-level segment, which notes that the social and economic situation in Africa on the whole continues to be unsatisfactory. The continent remains plagued by inadequate infrastructure, weak institutions, poorly utilized human resources, a great vulnerability to natural and climatic disasters, and the impact of unfavourable terms of trade.

According to the Secretary-General, while some short-term indicators, such as total output on the continent and the gross domestic product of some countries, "may appear satisfactory", structural weaknesses remain, the current improvement in growth rates is "too slight to compensate for the lag accumulated over 15 years of decline", and economic performance is "disappointing" even in countries that have made substantial reforms. For example, in 1994, the Assembly added Angola and Eritrea to the list of least developed countries, while only one African country, Botswana, moved out of that category. At present, 33 out of a total of 48 least developed countries are African.

Moreover, the continent's long-term debt amounts to $37 billion, accounting for half the outstanding debt of the entire third world. According to the World Bank, only 6 out of 21 most indebted African countries are able to repay their debt, even under the softest borrowing terms.

"In nearly all spheres, the problem is that the action taken has not always matched the needs", said 49th Assembly President Amara Essy at the high-level segment on 4 July. "Even relatively promising scenarios have culminated in the unacceptable prospect of an expansion of poverty. We must therefore set our sights higher, particularly as there is broad consensus on what is happening and on what needs to be done in the area of development in Africa."

> "Africa is too often the scene of situations that compound poverty and underdevelopment"

Furthermore, the Secretary-General has outlined a number of priorities for UN action to sustain the development of Africa. Among them:

◆ Africa's regional structures must be strengthened, including cooperation between the UN and the Organization of African Unity.

◆ The economies of African countries must be diversified and their products be allowed access to foreign markets. "It must be fully recognized that Africa is the only region in the world that may be hurt by the Uruguay Round" of the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade, the Secretary-General said.

◆ The international community needs to take on the nagging problem of African debt and raise levels of assistance to the continent.

◆ The UN should help African countries establish effective social institutions and support the efforts of those countries to improve public education and vocational training. "Africa's population, far from being a handicap, is an inestimable resource and guarantor of its future, but only if enough food and medical attention are first of all assured", said the Secretary-General on 4 July. "These are the basic conditions of social development."

Another proposal—formulated in the *World Economic and Social Survey, 1995* and advanced in the Secretary-General's report—calls for promotion of a "Green Revolution" in Africa by financing the development of high-yield food crops. While Asia and Latin America have seen large gains in the production of rice and wheat since the mid-1960s as a result of the increased use of new high-yield varieties, Africa has hardly benefited from this "Green Revolution". "This can be largely attributed to a lack of seeds suitable to Africa's conditions, weak local research capacity and a poorly developed support system to encourage adoption", according to the *Survey*.

Is Africa behind?

Declaring that Africa is a test case for the UN and for the Council's ability to address and resolve critical development issues, Council President Ahmad Kamal of Pakistan on 4 July posed several questions for consideration, among them: Why had Africa been left behind in the process of development? Why had industrialization largely bypassed the continent? Was it not true that one of the main elements of progress, the access to know-how and technology, was not available to much of Africa, as it was not to most developing countries?

In summarizing the high-level discussion, Mr. Kamal said Africa's problems could be resolved through better conflict prevention, management and resolution. Other vital requirements include a multi-pronged debt relief strategy tailored to each country's specific situation and financial flows, particularly foreign direct investment, as well as an increased share in international trade for Africa. He also stressed the importance of achieving food security for all Africans and human resources development and institution building, which translated practical terms to investment in education and training. ■

ECOSOC 1995: The Action

Photo: L. Bianco

Ministers and senior officials from some 40 countries addressed the Council's high-level segment on the development of Africa.

The five-week 1995 session of the Economic and Social Council (26 June-28 July, Geneva), which represented its 50th year of action in the service of economic and social development, resulted in the adoption of 63 resolutions and nearly 100 decisions. The session was organized into four parts: a three day high-level segment; a four-day coordination segment; a five-day operational activities for international development cooperation segment; and a general segment.

During the coordination segment, the 54-member Council focused on ways to coordinate follow-up by the UN system to recent major international conferences on population, social development, human rights and other matters. Discussions centred on what UN departments and specialized agencies would assume responsibility for follow-up in different areas to ensure efficiency and avoid overlap. The Council, after much debate, also added an additional 741 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to the list of over 2,000 already approved for participation in the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 4-15 September).

The operational activities segment included a one-day high-level meeting, an informal dialogue with heads of agencies responsible for development programmes, and several working meetings, focusing in particular on the triennial comprehensive policy review of operational activities within the UN system, as well as on UN efforts to put into effect the results of the International Conference on Population and Development, held last year in Cairo.

Following is a round-up of action taken during the 1995 session.

On economic, social and sustainable development, the Council:

◆ Decided that the Commission for Social Development: review issues related to the implementation of the Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action; adapt its mandate to ensure an integrated approach to social development; establish the practice of opening its debates to experts to enhance the exchange of information on social development; and hold a special session in 1996 to review its mandate and elaborate a multi-year programme of work to the year 2000;

◆ Saw the need for additional measures to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the operational activities for development of the UN system and to ensure that the policies formulated by the General Assembly are appropriately implemented on a system-wide basis;

◆ Urged Members States to implement the programme for the Second Transport and Communications Decade in Africa (1991-2000);

◆ Approved arrangements for the governance and management of the new Joint and Co-sponsored UN Programme on HIV/AIDS, and asked the UN system focal point on tobacco or health to intensify the dialogue with UN bodies and Member States to strengthen control policies;

◆ Urged Member States to carry out population and housing censuses during the period 1995-2004;

◆ Urged Governments to continue efforts to implement UN guidelines for consumer protection, and reiterated once again the high priority that it attaches to easy, economical, uncomplicated and unhindered access for Member States to the UN computerized databases, information systems and services;

◆ Decided that the term "older persons" should be substituted for the term "the elderly", with the result that the observance in 1999 shall be called the International Year of Older Persons;

◆ Called upon Governments to implement fully the provisions on water resources, particularly on water supply and sanitation, contained in Agenda 21;

◆ Recommended that all Governments adopt the Declaration of Intent on Gender, Science and Technology for Sustainable Human Development, which seeks to ensure equality in education, training, science and technology institutions, research priorities, access to information and knowledge;

◆ Asked the Committee of Experts on the Transport of Dangerous Goods to elaborate by the end of 1996 proposals for globally harmonized criteria for the classification of flammable, explosive and reactive materials.

On humanitarian and disaster relief, the Council:

◆ Called for a comprehensive report in 1996 on all aspects of humanitarian assistance;

◆ Encouraged wider use of volunteers—known as the "White Helmets"—in relief, humanitarian and development operations;

◆ Recommended that the Assembly decide to convene a closing event of the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction (1990-1999) to facilitate full integration of disaster reduction into sustainable development and environmental protection by the year 2000.

On human rights, the Council:

◆ Recommended that the Assembly consider convening a world conference against racism, racial and ethnic discrimination, xenophobia and other related contemporary forms of intolerance; and declared that all forms of racism or racial discrimination, whether institutionalized or resulting from official doctrines of racial superiority, such as "ethnic cleansing", are among the most serious violations of human rights in the contemporary world and must be combated by all possible means;

◆ Approved establishment of a working group on a draft declaration on the rights of indigenous people; called for a workshop on possible establishment of a permanent forum for indigenous people in the UN system; and asked the Secretary-General to submit guidelines for a preliminary report on protecting the heritage of indigenous people;

◆ Endorsed continued work on new instruments related to: the rights of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities; the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography; the involvement of children in armed conflicts; the right and responsibility of individuals, groups and organs of society to promote and protect human rights; and the right to development;

◆ Extended the mandates of several special rapporteurs, special representatives and independent experts, and approved new ones, on the relationship between the enjoyment of human rights and income distribution, and on the adverse effects on human rights of the illicit movement and dumping of toxic and dangerous products and wastes;

"Ways to follow up on recent UN global conferences were discussed"

◆ Endorsed recommendations concerning a seminar on the realization in all countries of economic, social and cultural rights, an expert meeting to study non-derogable rights in states of emergency and to establish a database related to states of emergency and human rights questions, and a meeting of persons chairing the human rights treaty bodies and working groups to consider ways in which the human rights of women could be integrated into the reports and work of the UN system.

On women, the Council:

◆ Decided that the Commission on the Status of Women should establish an open-ended working group during its 40th session to consider elaboration of a draft optional protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women;

◆ Commended the efforts of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women to address all levels of poverty that hamper so dramatically the advancement of women, through activities related to empowering women, gender statistics, communications, sustainable development and natural resources, and issues related to older persons, refugees, and migrant women.

On crime prevention and criminal justice, the Council:

◆ Adopted an omnibus resolution on implementation of the recommendations of the Ninth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders;

◆ Adopted the guidelines for cooperation and technical assistance in the field of urban crime prevention;

◆ Asked for full implementation of the Naples Political Declaration and Global Action Plan against Organized Transnational Crime;

◆ Noted that, according to the Secretary-General's fifth quinquennial report on capital punishment and the implementation of the safeguards guaranteeing the protection of the rights of those facing the death penalty, an increasing number of countries had abolished the death penalty and others followed a policy of reducing the number of capital offenses;

◆ Adopted measures related to illegal migrant smuggling, organized transnational crime, as well as interregional advisory services, an international clearing-house and UN norms and standards on crime prevention and criminal justice.

On narcotic drugs, the Council:

◆ Recommended that the Assembly consider convening an international conference in 1998 to evaluate the international situation and the status of cooperation against the illicit production, sale, demand, traffic and distribution of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances;

◆ Approved measures recommended by the Commission on Narcotic Drugs aimed at reducing demand for illicit narcotics, enhancing regional cooperation, promoting customs and commercial cooperation against drug trafficking, and monitoring demand for and supply of opiates for medical and scientific needs.

Ethnic cleansing, humanitarian problems addressed by Subcommission

UN Photo 186206/M. Grafman

The right to remain in your own home was stressed by the Subcommission. *Above*, displaced persons in Croatia.

Governments and others involved in practices of forced displacement, population transfer and "ethnic cleansing" should do everything possible to immediately end them, the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities has declared, in affirming the "right of persons to remain in peace in their own homes, on their own lands and in their own countries".

The Subcommission asked for a comprehensive report by the Special Rapporteur on the human rights dimensions of population transfer, including "implantation" of settlers and settlements. Calling forced eviction a "gross violation" of a broad range of human rights, it requested Governments to provide restitution or compensation where it occurred.

A Special Rapporteur was needed to look into the human rights implications of UN action, including humanitarian assistance, in addressing international humanitarian problems and in the promotion and protection of human rights, the Subcommission decided.

At its forty-seventh session (31 July-25 August, Geneva), the 26-member Subcommission adopted more than 60 resolutions, decisions and statements. The principal subsidiary body of the UN Commission on Human Rights, it faces a growing catalogue of issues engendered by changing conceptions in the promotion of human rights and by new patterns in their violation.

The violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in different parts of the world, including in the former Yugoslavia, the Middle East, Rwanda, Burundi and Iraq, was also the subject of Subcommission action. Considered as well during the session were: human rights violations in Iran; the role played by some printed or audiovisual media in inciting genocidal hatred; human rights situations in Colombia and Guatemala; and Turkey's initiatives regarding freedom of information.

During closed meetings, the Subcommission also discussed communications from individuals or groups claiming that their rights had been violated by Governments.

'All are equal'

In a closing statement, Chairman Ioan Maxim of Romania said that wherever in the world the Subcommission looked, there were roughly the same problems: poverty; armed conflict; inter-ethnic conflict; discrimination and intolerance; injustice; inequality; and oppression.

"The obstacles which prevent the enjoyment of human rights are many and varied", he said, "and it seems difficult for some human beings to accept that all persons are born free and equal and that people should treat each other with respect." Serious violations of human rights happened every day, endangering the lives of millions, he declared.

In spite of the international community's best efforts, certain armed conflicts continued to cause people to flee their homes, the Chairman continued. Even more shocking was the fact that in most cases, the people behind those events grew rich on the suffering of others.

UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Jose Ayala Lasso called upon States to pay more attention to human rights and support the efforts of "their organization"—the UN. He underlined the role played by the Subcommission in advancing the cause of human rights through its persistent advocacy of protection and promotion measures. The Commission on Human Rights was also playing a vital role in promoting respect for human rights, he said, adding that despite difficult situations, the UN had continued its efforts to maintain peace and security.

In an 8 August joint statement, the Subcommission and the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination called for the mobilization of efforts to eliminate racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and for the speedy establishment of a permanent international criminal court to prosecute perpetrators of massive violations of human rights. They met jointly for the second time to consider ways to cooperate more effectively.

Hostages, rape, slavery

Chairman Maxim, in an 18 August declaration, said the Subcommission was "horrified by the murder of hostages by violent terrorist or guerrilla groups". Hostage-taking was a blatant violation of minimum humanitarian standards applicable to all parties and

in all situations, and such "contemptible and barbaric methods for political gains" could only serve to discredit whatever cause the perpetrators claimed to be pursuing, he stressed. Remaining hostages should be released immediately and unconditionally.

The Subcommission requested the appointment of Linda Chavez of the United States to study situations of "systematic rape, sexual slavery and slavery-like practices" during armed conflict. Another expert should look into allegations of commercial trafficking in human organs and tissues, it declared.

It also appealed for contributions to the UN Trust Fund on Contemporary Forms of Slavery, and submitted to the Human Rights Commission a draft programme of action on traffic in persons and the exploitation of the prostitution of others.

Extreme poverty, housing concerns

In requesting a final report on "human rights and extreme poverty", the Subcommission asked Governments and others to respond to a questionnaire prepared by the Special Rapporteur on that subject. An event should be arranged during the International Year for the Eradication of Poverty, to be observed in 1996, which included participation by representatives of persons and families living in extreme poverty, as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working alongside them, the Sub-Commission declared.

It strongly encouraged Governments to faithfully implement existing legal obligations regarding the right to adequate housing.

Particular attention should be paid to the "impact of the enjoyment of human rights, and that of the right to education in particular, on income distribution" by that thematic Special Rapporteur. The Subcommission endorsed the conclusion that the concentration of wealth constituted a serious obstacle to the realization of economic, social, cultural, political and civil rights, and that equality of opportunity was an "essential element for participating effectively in the process of development".

The impact on certain human rights, including the right of development, of the activities and working methods of transnational corporations, and of structural adjustment programmes was also considered.

States of emergency, detainees

Since 1 January 1985, states of emergency had been proclaimed, extended or maintained on 200 occasions in various States and territories, the Subcommission noted. Governments should limit the use of a state of emergency to extremely unusual and serious circumstances, it averred. National legislation to guarantee the legality of states of emergency in conformity with international rules and principles was urged.

Convinced that the "increasingly widespread practice worldwide of impunity of perpetrators of violations of human rights" was a fundamental obstacle to the observance of those rights, the Subcommission invited Governments, UN agencies, regional intergovernmental organizations and NGOs to provide information on such violations, and asked for a final report on the question at its next session. Information on the question of impunity for violators of civil and political rights was also requested for use by its Special Rapporteur.

Indigenous peoples, gender issues

Issues concerning indigenous peoples were addressed in a number of texts adopted during the session. A permanent forum for indigenous peoples should be established within the UN system during the early part of the International Decade for the World's Indigenous People (1994-2004), the Sub-Commission decided. Also, a second workshop on the forum should be organized by the UN Centre for Human Rights.

Also considered were: treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements between States and indigenous populations; the concept of "indigenous people"; the observance of the annual International Day of Indigenous People (9 August); the UN Voluntary Fund for Indigenous Populations; and the protection of indigenous peoples' heritage, as well as their cultural and intellectual property.

In according high priority to the human rights of women and the girl child, the Subcommission resolved to consider this issue under every item of its agenda, and in all relevant studies undertaken by it. All reports reviewed in 1996 should include a "gender perspective" in their analyses and recommendations. A report on coordination endeavours which affect persons with disabilities was requested. A working paper on democratic societies was also asked for, as were suggestions for a comprehensive programme for the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities.

HIV/AIDS, other matters

In an effort to address the impact of the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) on human rights, the Subcommission declared States should continue to review legislation, policies and practices in the context of people living with HIV/AIDS to ensure respect for human rights standards. They should also strengthen efforts to advance the legal, economic and social status of women, children, minorities, migrants and other groups, "to render them less vulnerable to the risk of HIV infection".

Full implementation was asked for the Plan of Action for the Elimination of Harmful Traditional Practices affecting the Health of Women and Children, adopted in 1994 in Colombo, Sri Lanka.

Also acted on were issues related to: the environment; land-mines; persecution of individuals or members of groups legitimately, peacefully and non-violently exercising the rights referred to in the draft declaration on the rights and responsibility of individuals, groups and organs of society; and gross and large-scale violations of human rights perpetrated on the orders of, or sanctioned by, Governments. ■

Historic agreement on high-seas fishing adopted by UN Conference

A global treaty to regulate fishing on the high seas was adopted on 4 August by the UN Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks at its sixth session (24 July-4 August, New York). The treaty will, for the first time, legally bind States to conserve and sustainably manage high-seas fisheries and settle fishing disputes peacefully.

Calling the treaty "far-sighted, far-reaching, bold and revolutionary", Conference Chairman Satya Nandan of Fiji said it provided for regional, national and global action to address the critical problems facing the world's fisheries.

While the treaty contained innovations that went beyond the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention and gave further meaning to some of its basic principles that were not being fully implemented, it was also realistic, practical and firmly based on the Convention's principles.

Canadian Minister for Fisheries and Oceans Brian Tobin said there were no losers at the Conference. "When the fish win, we all win." The desire to harvest stocks, he added, must take a back seat to the need to sustain stocks.

The treaty—officially entitled the Agreement for the Implementation of the Provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 10 December 1982 relating to the Conservation and Management of Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks—is built on three essential pillars, Mr. Nandan stated.

First, it sets out principles for conservation and management of stocks based on a precautionary approach and the best scientific information. Second, it ensures that conservation and management measures are adhered to and not undermined by those who fish for stocks. And third, it sets out provisions for peaceful settlement of disputes.

Mr. Nandan cited a warning by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN about the disastrous social and economic consequences awaiting the global fishing industry unless the size of fleets was reduced, subsidies eliminated and fleets activities more effectively regulated. Without the Agreement, there would be a further depletion of the world's fish resources, as well as more conflict on the high seas.

The Agreement includes groundbreaking provisions to ensure compatible conservation and management measures between high-seas areas and coastal zones under national jurisdiction. One of its major features is the "precautionary approach" by which States are obliged to act conservatively when there is doubt about the viability of stocks.

Other provisions of the Agreement establish detailed minimum international standards for conservation and management of fish stocks. The treaty also includes effective measures for compliance and enforcement on the high seas, and recognizes the special requirements of developing States for assistance in conservation and management.

In the case of conflict between nations over fishing rights, the Agreement calls for compulsory and binding third-party dispute settlement.

How it happened ...

The Conference, which first convened in April 1993 and held six sessions, was set up by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the UN Conference on Environment and Development.

Its goal was to promote the effective implementation of the provisions of the Convention on the Law of the Sea dealing with straddling fish stocks and highly migratory fish stocks—species found within the 200-mile exclusive economic zones (EEZs) of two or more coastal States or within a zone and an adjacent area of the high seas.

Many fish, such as cod found off the east coast of Canada and pollack in the Bering Sea, straddle the boundaries of national economic zones. Others, such as tuna and swordfish, migrate over wide areas.

Coastal States have maintained that increased fishing on the high seas by other States reduced catches in territorial waters. To help fish stocks to regenerate, Canada, for example, has declared a moratorium on cod fishing off its Atlantic Coast, while Iceland has cut back its domestic fishing by 50 per cent. Unregulated foreign fleets have continued to fish just off those countries' EEZs.

The Conference has aimed to prevent conflicts between coastal States which, under the Convention, have exclusive fishing rights within their EEZs, and States that maintain fishing fleets on the high seas—also known as distant-water fishing States.

Coastal States most concerned with the impact of high-seas fishing on domestic harvests include Argentina, Australia, Canada, Chile, Iceland, Indonesia, New Zealand, Norway and Peru. Japan, Spain, Poland, the Republic of Korea and the Russian Federation are reponsible for 90 per cent of high seas fishing. The United States does a significant amount of high-seas fishing, but also seeks protection for its severely depleted coastal fisheries.

Law Commission ends 1995 session

Progress made on Code of Crimes

Work continued on a draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind at the forty-seventh session of the International Law Commission (2 May-21 July, Geneva). The 34-member body decided to submit its final draft to the General Assembly in 1996. Draft articles for the Code had been provisionally adopted on first reading in 1991 by the Commission and transmitted to Governments for comments and observation.

After reviewing reports from Member States on what crimes they felt should be included in the Code, Special Rapporteur Doudou Thiam pointed to a clear consensus on four: aggression; genocide; war crimes; and crimes against humanity. Proposed articles on intervention, threat of aggression and the use of mercenaries should not be retained, as there were "no strong grounds" advanced in their favour, he said.

Despite progress, differences of opinion persisted, notably with regard to the content of the future Code. Some members wanted to reduce the number of crimes to a minimum, while others advocated a wider approach which would include, for example, intervention, colonial domination and illicit drug trafficking.

Other items on the Commission's 1995 agenda were: State succession and its impact on the nationality of natural and legal persons; State responsibility; international liability for injurious consequences arising out of acts not prohibited by international law; and law and practice relating to reservations to treaties.

In other action, Igor Ivanovich Lukashuk of the Russian Federation was elected to the Commission, replacing Vladlen Vereshchetin who had been elected to the International Court of Justice.

A set of articles on settlement of disputes relating to the legal consequences of a delict—for inclusion in Part III of a future instrument on State responsibility—was adopted on first reading.

Various methods of settlement were proposed, such as: negotiation; good offices and mediation; conciliation; and arbitration. Models for a conciliatory commission and an arbitral tribunal were also prepared.

The notion of a "State crime", however, remained controversial. Draft articles were to be considered further in light of proposals made during the session.

A general plan for a treaty on State responsibility, endorsed by the Commission in 1975, envisaged a three-part structure: the origin of international responsibility; its content, forms and degrees; and settlement of disputes and the implementation of international responsibility.

Part I was provisionally adopted on first reading in 1980. Work on the other two sections continues.

With regard to another topic—international liability for injurious consequences arising out of acts not prohibited by international law—the Commission concentrated on the role of harm and the environment. It provisionally adopted articles to be included in a future international instrument, dealing with freedom of action and limits thereto, prevention, liability and reparation, and cooperation.

Discussions on the issue of State succession and its impact on the nationality of natural and legal persons were based on the fundamental premises that every person whose nationality might be affected by the change in the international status of a territory had the right to a nationality, and that States had the obligation to prevent statelessness, which was viewed as the most serious potential consequence of State succession.

Other consequences to be addressed in that regard were: dual nationality; separation of families resulting from the attribution of different nationalities to their members; military obligations; pensions and other social security benefits; and the right of residence.

The Commission, established by the General Assembly in 1947, is mandated to promote the progressive development and codification of international law. Its 34 experts represent the world's main legal systems.

Among the international conventions resulting from the Commission's work are those on: diplomatic and consular relations; prevention and punishment of crimes against internationally protected persons, including diplomats; and succession of States in respect of their property, archives and debts.

Court rules on French tests

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) on 22 September dismissed New Zealand's request to declare that France's nuclear tests in the South Pacific constituted a violation of the rights, under international law, of New Zealand and other States, by introducing radioactive material into the marine environment. By a vote of 12 to 3, the ICJ also dismissed related applications and declarations to intervene by Australia, Samoa, Solomon Islands, the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia.

The ICJ found that New Zealand's request for special proceedings did not fall within the Court's 1974 similar ruling on the Nuclear Tests case *(New Zealand v. France)*. According to that decision, New Zealand could ask for an "examination of the situation" only if France resumed nuclear tests in the atmosphere.

Work continues on International Criminal Court

A further step towards the creation of a new global judicial body—an International Criminal Court—was taken on 25 August, as the General Assembly was asked to work towards the early completion of a draft convention for the Court's establishment.

The Court—a non-standing permanent institution to be set up by treaty—is to provide a complementary international criminal justice mechanism to enhance the effective prosecution and suppression of crimes of international concern by national criminal justice systems.

It would have jurisdiction over four crimes under general international law—genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and aggression—and over exceptionally serious crimes of international concern, such as apartheid, systematic or massive violations of human rights, torture, hostage taking, hijacking and illicit trafficking in narcotic drugs.

During its two-part session (3-13 April and 14-25 August, New York), the Ad Hoc Committee on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court also recommended that the draft convention be considered by a conference of plenipotentiaries.

Chairman Adriaan Bos of the Netherlands said that during deliberations a "substantial workload" had been handled, including such topics as the Court's composition, jurisdiction, applicable laws and methods of proceedings, as well as the relationship between the new institution and States parties.

Set up by General Assembly resolution 49/53 of 9 December 1994, the Ad Hoc Committee reviews issues arising from a 60-article draft statute for the Court, adopted by the International Law Commission (ILC) in 1994.

Many delegates wanted a clearer definition of the principle of complementarity of the International Court to national criminal jurisdiction in cases where, according to the draft statute, "trial procedures may not be available or may be ineffective".

Some said that competent national courts should have priority over the International Court, while others urged that the primacy of national jurisdictions should not be invoked to shield criminals.

> "The Court would enhance effective prosecution and suppression of crime"

There was widespread agreement that the statute should precisely define, rather than simply enumerate, crimes to be dealt with by the Court. Incorporation of definitions from the Nuremberg Tribunal Charter and the statutes of the International Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda was suggested. Speakers also urged completion by the ILC of the draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind.

Since only the Security Council, according to the UN Charter, may determine the commission of an act of aggression, several delegates expressed doubts on the list of crimes and cautioned that the proposed Court should be an apolitical body.

Many believed that the inclusion of terrorism, drug trafficking, torture, apartheid or other crimes prohibited pursuant to international treaties in the statute would overburden the Court, and that those crimes should be dealt with by national courts.

A more focused list of crimes for the International Criminal Court would probably increase the number of national legislatures likely to accede to its statute, it was suggested. Participants generally agreed that the list of crimes, to be considered by the Court, should be subject to periodic review by States parties to the statute.

They were divided, however, on whether the future Criminal Court should enjoy "inherent jurisdiction" over serious international crimes, which would allow it to proceed with the prosecution of crimes even without being requested to do so by States parties.

Some felt that inherent jurisdiction was incompatible with the UN Charter principles relating to national sovereignty. Others argued that, given the magnitude of the core crimes included in its statute, the Court should not be unduly restricted in its freedom to prosecute.

On the issue of State consent requirements, several speakers believed that only the consent of the State in whose territory the crime was committed or of the custodial State was necessary. Others felt that consent of the State of nationality of the accused should also be required.

Delegations agreed that general rules of criminal law should be included in the statute or in an annex, with questions of lesser importance to be determined by the Court in particular cases. That approach, it was believed, would provide clear guidance to the Court and to counsel, secure predictability and protect the accused. ■

Arms Reduction: Economic Implications in the Post-Cold-War Era

Edited by Lawrence R. Klein, Fu-chen Lo, Warwick J. McKibbin
Tokyo, United Nations University Press, 1995
384 pp. ISBN 92-808-0881-8

Due primarily to the cold war's end, the implosion of Soviet communism and the economic downturns of the last decade, the world is experiencing a steady albeit slow downward trend in global military expenditure. While the politics of military arms reduction is frequently the stuff of headlines, details of related economic ramifications generally are not. Klein is a former Nobel Laureate in Economics and is currently Benjamin Franklin Professor Emeritus at the University of Pennsylvania. Lo is the Senior Academic Officer at the United Nations University, Tokyo. McKibbin is Professor of International Economics, Australian National University, Canberra. Together with 18 contributing authors, they discuss various and complementary economic perspectives on disarmament.

Arms Reduction summarizes the major issues voiced at a 1992 conference that "examined global patterns of military expenditure and simulated policy dialogue to achieve significant" arms reduction. Arms production and trade is analyzed by nation and region, with special attention devoted to developing nations. Economic incentives for demilitarization are explored, including its linkage to the disbursement of foreign aid by more developed nations. Macroeconomic consequences affecting manpower, labour markets, defense industries, the environment, and weapons destruction and verification are evaluated. Moral dimensions are also examined. Typical is the situation faced by many Eastern European countries, which now face something of a dilemma. On the one hand, arms exports facilitate militarization elsewhere; on the other, they provide a needed boost to their fledgling capitalist economies.

Discussion of military expenditure is broken down into four components: personnel, operations and maintenance, procurement and construction. Economic models demonstrate an "increase in the GDP in the medium and long run" that makes defense cuts attractive. "Comments" by other scholars immediately follow chapters and serve to succinctly caveat, critique and offer point-counterpoint elaboration. These welcome remarks facilitate a robust and useful dialogue concerning the much-talked-about "peace dividend".

Utopia Lost: The United Nations and World Order

Rosemary Righter
New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1995
420 pp. ISBN 0-87078-358-0

Recent works with UN reform themes tend to fall into one of two categories: those preoccupied with an emerging peacekeeping mission and those whose breadth exceeds their depth. The third effort on international affairs by the chief editorial writer of the *London Times* marks another contribution to the burgeoning literature on UN reform; however, this effort is distinguished from its peers by its comprehensiveness. Righter not only examines the UN from virtually every angle, but does so with respect to Governments, whose diplomatic needs will cause them to "discriminate in favor of what works". (One might add the words "in their interest".)

With a dose of *realpolitik*, Righter tempers the conventional wisdom and idealistic vision of an emergent UN paving the way in the new world order. For the UN to "work" in the next century, it will have to appeal to Governments as a legitimate means to achieving multilateral ends. Such appeal is presently lost amidst the UN's enormous complexity, which all too frequently leads to inefficiency and loss of confidence by Member States. Peace-keeping forces have grown to some 70,000 worldwide and provide a visible UN presence, but the results on conflict containment and peace operations are historically mixed at best.

It is squarely the responsibility of the UN to prove its mettle to its members. According to Righter, some of the UN's more specialized agencies simply are not realizing their potential as global actors. It must dramatically improve its "tooth-to-tail" ratio or risk being relegated by clients, whose needs will force them to turn to (or create) other multilateral organizations for solutions. Warren Christopher recently addressed the General Assembly by offering: "We must renew and reform the United Nations not for its sake, but for our own." Righter would agree.

Defining and Measuring Stability: The Biogeophysical Foundations

Edited by Mohan Munasinghe and Walter Shearer
Washington, International Bank, 1995
440 pp. ISBN 0-8213-3134-5

Distributed for the United Nations University by the World Bank, the chief purpose of this work is to address the "basic challenge" of sustainability, which is "defining, measuring, and operationalizing" it. Further discussion centres around where and how sustainability is violated and, perhaps more importantly, why it is violated.

The collaborative effort of some eight dozen international scholars and based on papers prepared for the 1992 International Conference on the Definition and Measurement of Sustainability, this is no mere technical study. Thorough empirical research is augmented by thoughtful qualitative discussion that richly blends both the natural and social sciences.

Well organized in three sections—background, case study presentations, and an examination of several kinds of managed ecosystems, including wetlands, fisheries and rangelands—*Stability* compares concepts of sustainable development and related trade-offs where economic interests are concerned. "Win-win" situations that defuse the dilemma of economic profit at the expense of sustainability are illuminated. Accessible diction throughout serves to broaden the dialogue as the relevance of public policy and social issues are interwoven. The authors propose a new discipline, "econology", a more comprehensive extension of ecology and economics. All told, they well achieve their aim of outlining the parameters of sustainable use of resources.

—Reviewed by Joseph Saffron

Libyan sanctions stay in place

The Security Council on 28 July held its regular 120-day review of sanctions imposed against Libya under resolution 748 (1992) and concluded that there was no agreement that the necessary conditions existed for modifying them. Sanctions had been imposed because of Libya's failure to cooperate fully in establishing responsibility for the terrorist bombings of Pan Am flight 103, which crashed over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988, and of UTA flight 772, which crashed in

AP/WideWorld Photos

At the site of the 21 December 1988 Lockerbie crash.

Niger in 1989. On 31 July, Libya informed the UN Secretary-General it had condemned all forms of terrorism and severed its relations with all organizations suspected of resorting to terrorism. It also maintained it had cooperated with the United Kingdom and France regarding the allegations made against two Libyan nationals accused of planting the bombs which had caused the loss of 441 lives in the airplane crashes. Extraditing the suspects would be counter to Libyan law.

Progress reported in Guatemalan talks

The General Assembly on 14 September called upon the Guatemalan parties—the Government and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG)—to strive for the "earliest conclusion of an agreement on a firm and lasting peace". In adopting resolution 49/236 B, the Assembly also renewed the mandate of the Mission for the Verification of Human Rights and of Compliance with the Commitments of the Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights in Guatemala (MINUGUA) for a further six-month period, until 18 March 1996. The parties were called upon to comply fully with the 29 March 1994 Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights and the human rights aspects of the 31 March 1995 accord on identity and rights of indigenous peoples, and to reach agreement on socio-economic aspects and the agrarian situation—a key item under discussion in the negotiating process.

The Secretary-General reported *(A/49/955)* that MINUGUA's presence and work were "increasing confidence in political participation, as testified by the appeals to the general population to participate in the elections on 12 November 1995 made by URNG, the Catholic Church and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Rigoberta Menchú, among others".

Decolonization Committee meets

Nine resolutions and decisions were adopted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples at its 1995 session, which opened on 27 February. The texts dealt with: dissemination of information on decolonization; sending visiting missions to Non-Self-Governing Territories; activities of foreign economic and other interests which impede the implementation of the Declaration; military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in territories under their administration; implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the UN; situations in New Caledonia, American Samoa, Anguilla, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Guam, Montserrat, Pitcairn, St. Helena, Tokelau, the Turks and Caicos Islands, the United States Virgin Islands; and the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

No agreement reached on Law of Sea Council

The Assembly of the International Seabed Authority concluded its first session (7-17 August) in Kingston, Jamaica, without reaching agreement on the composition of its 36-member Council. Membership of the Council, which has vast powers to oversee the Authority's operation, is based on criteria laid down in the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and the 1994 Agreement on the Implementation of Part XI of the Convention. The Council is to consist of five groups, with members representing groups of States with a common economic or other special interest, or a regional grouping. Overall, the Council is to have an equitable geographical distribution and a balance between developed and developing States. Seabed Authority Assembly President Hasjim Djalal of Indonesia reported that while some groups had agreed on candidates, others needed additional time to arrive at a consensus. The Assembly had therefore decided to hold informal inter-sessional consultations in New York from 6 to 8 December to try to resolve the question of Council membership.

Cash shortfall described as 'unprecedented'

Describing the Organization's cash shortfall as "unprecedented", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 14 September said that in order to cover regular budget expenditures, the UN had had to borrow from its peace-keeping operations by postponing overdue reimbursements to about 80 troop-contributor countries. If the situation continued, by year's end the UN could owe those Member States more than $1.2 billion. "This will place peace-keeping operations in great jeopardy", Mr. Boutros-Ghali warned, as he announced a series of urgent measures, including severe limits on overtime and travel, delay in payments to vendors and suspension of new equipment purchases.

First woman on World Court, new judge elected

Ms. Higgins

Rosalyn Higgins of the United Kingdom on 12 July became the first woman elected to sit on the International Court of Justice (ICJ). She fills the vacancy caused by the resignation, effective 10 July, of Sir Robert Yewdall Jennings, also of the United Kingdom. Having started her legal career as an intern in the UN Legal Office in 1958, Ms. Higgins became an international law professor at the University of London, Chairman of the Public International Law Advisory Board of the British Institute for International and Comparative Law, Queens Counsel and Bencher of the inner Temple, Special Rapporteur of the Committee on Human Rights under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and Honorary Vice-President of the American Society of International Law.

On 21 June, Luigi Ferrari Bravo of Italy was elected to the ICJ to fill the seat left vacant by the 24 February death of Judge Roberto Ago, also of Italy. Mr. Ferrari Bravo, a professor of European Community law at the University of Rome and President of the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law, has served as head of the Legal Service of the Italian Foreign Ministry.

IAEA Conference focuses on verification matters

Credible verification that nuclear materials remained in peaceful activities was an "increasingly important factor in nuclear disarmament and global security planning", Director-General Hans Blix of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) stated on 18 September, in addressing the Agency's thirty-ninth General Conferece (18-22 September, Vienna). He warned that the "magnitude and complexity of the safeguards task" were increasing and would continue to do so "if nuclear materials removed from the military sphere of nuclear-weapons States are placed under safeguards". Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in an 18 September message to the Conference, said: "Amidst the many uncertainties of the post-cold-war era, international peace, security and development require that the international community give issues of nuclear control and nuclear safety the very highest priority". The Conference—attended by 103 of IAEA's 122 Member States—adopted some 10 resolutions in key areas of global nuclear development.

Youth Leadership Summit held at Headquarters

Speakers at a week-long Youth Leadership Summit, held at UN Headquarters in New York from 28 August to 2 September, agreed that young people were critically important for the success of the world Organization in the next 50 years. The Summit, attended by more than 200 youth delegates from 115 countries, aimed to deepen their understanding of the UN system and strengthen their leadership skills, particularly in building partnerships and coalitions, dealing with electronic technology and media, and organizing people in project design and implementation. Gillian Sorensen, Special Adviser to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on public policy, told delegates that youth representation was more than symbolic. She added that the UN had not fully used its potential and could not solve all the world's problems diplomatically. It needed the support of grassroots organizations, the academic community and youth. The Summit was organized as part of the 50th anniversary commemoration of the UN and the 10th anniversary of the International Year of Youth (IYY).

Hazardous wastes convention amended

On 22 September, the Third Conference of the Parties to the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes adopted an amendment to the Convention that would ban the export of hazardous wastes from developed countries to developing ones. The amendment bans the export of hazardous wastes destined for final disposal with immediate effect. The ban on wastes destined for recovery or recycling operations would be phased in before taking complete effect after 31 December 1997. The Basel Convention was adopted in March 1989 and entered into force in May 1992. It has been ratified by 91 countries, plus the European Union.

First Indigenous Day celebrated

The first International Day of the World's Indigenous People was celebrated on 9 August. It had been proclaimed by the General Assembly in resolution 48/163 of 21 December 1993. In a message on the occasion, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said: "Poverty casts its darkest shadows upon indigenous people. Social problems affect them the most. Discoveries of natural riches have compelled many indigenous peoples to leave their lands for the sake of development. Yet they have survived." He called on all peoples to recognize "the precious asset which all humanity possesses through indigenous peoples, and to commit ourselves to support their struggle for all the rights and opportunities that are their heritage and their due". The observance also coincided with the first year of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004).

Public administration and finance experts meet

Governments have an important role to play in strengthening human and institutional capacity in the public sector, particularly in regard to financial management, it was determined at the 12th Meeting of Experts on the UN Programme in Public Administration and Finance (New York, 31 July-11 August). Participants concluded that Governments must create and sustain an enabling environment in which the private sector could flourish, while maintaining their role in the social sectors, where the public good had to be preserved.

COMING UP

A preview of some important UN conferences and events

January-March 1996

New York

15 **January** - 2 **February**	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 15th session
16 **January**	States Parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 16th meeting
12-22 **February**	Committee on New and Renewable Sources of Energy and on Energy for Development, 2nd session
26 **February** - 1 **March**	Commission on Population and Development, 29th session
4-8 **March**	Meeting of States Parties to the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea
4-15 **March**	Committee on Natural Resources, 3rd session
11-22 **March**	Commission on the Status of Women, 40th session

Geneva

8-26 **January**	Ad Hoc Group of Governmental Experts on the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction
22 **January** - 29 **March**	Conference on Disarmament, first part
26 **February** - 15 **March**	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 48th session
18 **March** - 26 **April**	Commission on Human Rights, 52nd session

Vienna

12-23 **February**	Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space—Scientific and Technical Subcommittee, 33rd session
5-14 **March**	Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, 5th session
18 **March** - 4 **April**	Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space—Legal Subcommittee, 35th session

Other locations

January/February	INSTRAW—Board of Trustees, 16th session, Santo Domingo
11-29 **March**	International Seabed Authority—Assembly, 2nd session, first part, Kingston

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Presidents of the General Assembly

NAME	COUNTRY	YEAR
1. Paul-Henri Spaak	Belgium	1946
2. Oswaldo Aranha	Brazil	1947
3. H. V. Evatt	Australia	1948
4. Carlos P. Romulo	Philippines	1949
5. Nasrollah Entezam	Iran	1950
6. Luis Padilla Nervo	Mexico	1951
7. Lester B. Pearson	Canada	1952
8. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit	India	1953
9. Eelco N. van Kleffens	Netherlands	1954
10. José Maza	Chile	1955
11. Prince Wan Waithayakon	Thailand	1956
12. Sir Leslie Munro	New Zealand	1957
13. Charles Malik	Lebanon	1958
14. Víctor Andrés Belaúnde	Peru	1959
15. Frederick H. Boland	Ireland	1960
16. Mongi Slim	Tunisia	1961
17. Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan	Pakistan	1962
18. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez	Venezuela	1963
19. Alex Quaison-Sackey	Ghana	1964
20. Amintore Fanfani	Italy	1965
21. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak	Afghanistan	1966
22. Corneliu Manescu	Romania	1967
23. Emilio Arenales Catalán	Guatemala	1968
24. Angie E. Brooks	Liberia	1969
25. Edvard Hambro	Norway	1970
26. Adam Malik	Indonesia	1971
27. Stanislaw Trepczynski	Poland	1972
28. Leopoldo Benites	Ecuador	1973
29. Abdelaziz Bouteflika	Algeria	1974
30. Gaston Thorn	Luxembourg	1975
31. H. S. Amerasinghe	Sri Lanka	1976
32. Lazar Mojsov	Yugoslavia	1977
33. Indalecio Liévano	Colombia	1978
34. Salim A. Salim	United Republic of Tanzania	1979
35. Rüdiger von Wechmar	Federal Republic of Germany	1980
36. Ismat T. Kittani	Iraq	1981
37. Imre Hollai	Hungary	1982
38. Jorge E. Illueca	Panama	1983
39. Paul J. F. Lusaka	Zambia	1984
40. Jaime de Piniés	Spain	1985
41. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury	Bangladesh	1986
42. Peter Florin	German Democratic Republic	1987
43. Dante M. Caputo	Argentina	1988
44. Joseph Nanven Garba	Nigeria	1989
45. Guido de Marco	Malta	1990
46. Samir S. Shihabi	Saudi Arabia	1991
47. Stoyan Ganev	Bulgaria	1992
48. Samuel R. Insanally	Guyana	1993
49. Amara Essy	Côte d'Ivoire	1994
50. Diogo Freitas do Amaral	Portugal	1995

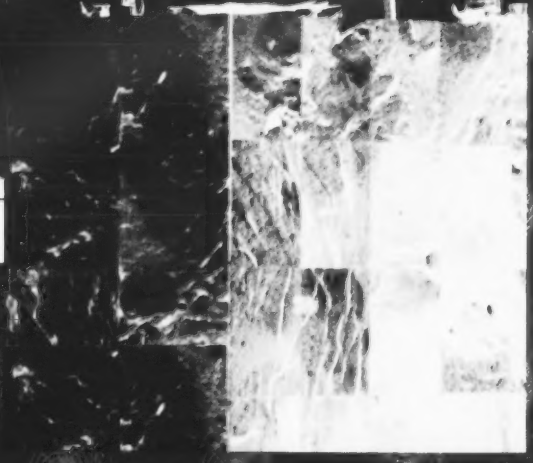
General Assembly Presidents normally preside over special and emergency special sessions of the world body during their tenure. The exceptions were: José Arce of Argentina, who presided over the second special session in 1948, and Rudecindo Ortega of Chile, who presided over the first and second emergency special sessions held in 1956.

The UN celebrates its 50th birthday!

22-24 October 1995

"During these past three days, the family of nations has been meeting in this house of nations."

— Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali



The Secretary-General (left) with
50th General Assembly President Diogo Freitas do Amaral

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